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TWO GIANTS LOOK AT THE COSMIC MAN : AMBEDKAR AND DAYĀNANDA INTERPRET THE *PURUṢA-SŪKTA*

By

J. JORDENS, Canberra*

However much one may agree or disagree with the theories and approach of either or both Ambedkar and Dayānanda, one has to acknowledge that each was in his own inimitable way a towering personality in the history of social reform in India in modern times. In their respective times they stood out from amongst their contemporaries and powerfully influenced the making of social history. The idea of bringing them together in confrontation of the same problem was suggested by what Ambedkar himself wrote in his Preface to *Who were the Shudras* ? apropos of his own interpretation of the *Puruṣa-Sūkta :*

> " The book treads heavily on the toes of the Arya Samajists....these conclusions are bound to act like atomic bombs on the dogmas of the Arya Samajists. I am not sorry for this clash with Arya Samajists....I am convinced that the Hindu Society will not accept the necessity of reforming itself unless and until this Arya Samajist ideology is completely destroyed. The book does render this service, if no other ".[1]

Both reformers were in revolt against the orthodox caste ideology and structure, which for centuries had been justified by the paṇḍits as an essential

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* Head, Dept. of Asian Civilization, The Australian National University, Dept. of Asian Civilization, Box 4, Canberra, ACT-2600 (Australia).

1 Ambedkar B. R., *Who were the Shudras? How they came to be the Fourth Varṇa in the Indo-Aryan Society*, Bombay, 1946, pp. xvi-xvii. Hereinafter quoted as *Shudras*.

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part of the divine order of things through reference to the famous *Puruṣa-Sūkta* of the *Vedas*. A comparison of the respective approaches of Ambedkar and Dayānanda to social reform may, therefore, find an ideal start in the comparison of their comments on this hymn, by asking the following questions. What kind of status and authority do they give this text, and how do they interpret it; do they think its very composition tells us something about the social history of ancient India; what do they say about its normative value?

First, a few general remarks seem appropriate about the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* itself. It is a cosmogonic hymn that is found with some variations in *Ṛgveda* x, 90, *Yajurveda* 31, 11 and *Atharvaveda* 19, 6. It ascribes the genesis and process of cosmic evolution to sacrificial power by mythically presenting the cosmogony as resulting from the sacrifice of the cosmic *Puruṣa*. This sacrificial act of the gods makes all existence evolve out of this *puruṣa*. In verse 12 is to be found the only Rigvedic reference to the four orders of society, the four *varṇas* : " The Brahmin was his mouth, *Kṣatriya* was made of his arms, the *Vaiśya* was made of his thighs and the *Śūdra* sprang from his feet ". Thus the four *varṇas* are said to be produced from this primeval sacrifice, just like the gods, the animals, the four quarters, the sky, the earth, the *Vedas*, and the seasons. The hymn has many obscurities of detail, but leaving these aside, its essential message seems to be quite clear : that the creative power was a sacrificial power, that the division of society in four *varṇas* is an integral part of cosmogony itself, and that the definite hierarchy in society with the Brahmin at the top and the *Śūdra* at the bottom of the scale is therefore divinely ordained. This last is clearly suggested by the mention of the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of the *puruṣa* as the parts from which the *varṇas* were produced.

The *Dharmasūtras* have much more to say about this hierarchy. Let us limit ourselves to Manu. Manu's *Dharmaśāstra* comes at the end of a long development between late Vedic times and the turn of the era. Its position is particularly important because it became and remained the highest authority of *dharma* through the centuries. First of all, Manu accepts the account of the origin of the *varṇas* as given in the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* :

> " For the sake of the prosperity of the whole world, the Lord caused the Brahmin, the *Kṣatriya*, the *Vaiśya*, and the *Śūdra*, to proceed respectively from his mouth, his arms, his thighs and his feet ". (I. 31)

But Manu goes much further in the explicitation of the *varṇa* theory. Belonging to a *varṇa* is the result of birth : *karma* accumulated in a previous life has produced in the individual to be born certain qualities, a particular mixture of the three *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, which assigns him at birth to his rightful *varṇa* (xii, 9, 40). The hierarchy from mouth to feet, from high to low, from Brahmin to *Śūdra*, is constantly reaffirmed (e.g. I, 92; VIII, 270, 41

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In fact, the whole legal structure of the *Laws of Manu* is a continuous affirmation of high and low, of privilege and disability in the Juridical, social, occupational, and religious spheres. The two middle *varṇas*, *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas*, are not as much in focus as are the high-born and privileged Brahmins and the low-born and deprived *Śūdras*.

Ambedkar and Dayānanda take different points of view at the very start of their commentary on the *Puruṣa-Sūkta :* they regard the *Ṛgveda* itself in a very different light. To Dayānanda the *Ṛgveda*, as integral part of the *Saṃhitās*, is divine revelation, and contains nothing but revealed truth. The sacred text in the sacred language reveals not only the divine teaching and the ideal social program, it also reflects the historical time when, at the beginning of creation, this truth and this order did in fact reign supreme in *Āryāvarta*. Therefore, as he repeatedly sets out to prove in his works, the text itself is above all possible suspicion. A correct interpretation will reveal its meaning, and that meaning once established, must be of universal and eternal validity. The problem posed by the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* can, therefore, in Dayānanda's mind, constitute merely a problem of right interpretation.

Ambedkar, on the other hand, says that he is

> " guided by the best tradition of the historian who treats all literature as vulgar—I am using the word in its original sense of belonging to the people—to be examined and tested by accepted rules of evidence without recognizing any distinction between the sacred and the profane and with the sole object of finding the truth. If in following this tradition I am found wanting in respect and reverence for the sacred literature of the Hindus my duty as a scholar must serve as my excuse ".[2]

What Ambedkar wants to investigate as a historian is the origin of the *Śūdras* and the causes of their degeneration. In doing this he deals with Vedic material as historical material. In fact, Ambedkar denies the " sacredness " of the texts; the Brahmins hold them sacred, he says, for two reasons only : because they are the production of their fore-fathers and because they support and perpetuate their privileges.[3] He refers to the social philosophy of the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* as " an idea which came to birth when the mind of man was primitive and was without the rich endowment of varied thought available in modern times ".[4] Therefore, to him the text is not only not sacred, it is, moreover, sociologically speaking, primitive and crude.

Dayānanda accepts the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* as being a cosmogonic hymn, and he treats it in his *Ṛgvedādibhāṣyabhūmikā* under the heading " On Cosmogony ".

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2 *Shudras*, p. xix.
3 *ibid.*, p. xx.
4 *ibid.*, p. 6.

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For him the word *puruṣa* means the one God, and he explains the cosmogonic teaching of the hymn as follows. God is the all-pervading spirit, the indwelling ruler, creator of the diversified universe, and also its absorber. He is the creator of the *Veda*, and he far exceeds cosmic reality. The universe is built up from the basic twenty-one constituent elements of *Sāṃkhya*, and it has seven concentric circles. In other words, Dayānanda's interpretation of this often obscure text has a double effect. On the one hand, it yields the essential dogmas of Dayānanda's theology on God's relationship to the cosmos, as they are detailed in chapter VIII of his *Satyārtha Prakāśa*. On the other hand, his interpretation completely evaporates two aspects of the hymn that belong to its very essence: the fact that the hymn is a myth, and that it stresses the cosmic power of sacrifice. In view of the fact that Dayānanda considered all mythology and sacrificial theology irrational and even immoral, this is not surprising.

Ambedkar too acknowledges that what we have here " is a cosmogony ", which is not unique, however, but similar to those found in other civilizations like the Egyptian and the Semitic ones.[5] He recognizes it as a " myth ", but for him a myth only means a theory of the origin of the universe conceived in the form of a " legend ",[6] an " innocent piece of a poet's idle imagination".[7] As such it has no real value any more, except " to amuse children "; it satisfies the curiosity of scholars and has only a purely academic interest. In fact, " Nobody relies on them. No Hindu ever remembers them."[8] This judgement naturally cuts short all interest Ambedkar sees in the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* as cosmogony. As such it has nothing significant to tell, but, as we will see, it does have considerable interest for the clues it gives us for the solution of the historical problem of the origin of the *Śūdra*s in the stanza that deals with the *varṇa* system.

Now we consider the crucial stanza 12 :

ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद्बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।
ऊरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ॥ १२ ॥

How does Dayānanda interpret it ? He refers to it primarily in his Introduction to the commentary on the *Veda*s, the *Ṛgvedādibhāṣyabhūmikā*, in his *Yajurvedabhāṣya* when commenting on 31.11, and in his fourth chapter of the *Satyārtha Prakāśa*, where he considers the *varṇa*s. Of these the *Bhūmikā* is the earlier text in our possession,[9] and there Dayānanda explains the stanza as follows :

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5 *Shudras*, p. 3.
6 *ibid.*, p. 23.
7 *ibid.*, p. 4.
8 *ibid.*, p. 3.
9 It definitely predates the *Yajurbhāṣya* and the second edition of the *Satyārtha Prakāśa* with which we are dealing here.

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" The Brahmin is said to be produced from the mouth of the *Puruṣa*, that means from such foremost qualities like knowledge, etc., such acts like truthful speech and teaching etc.....The *Śūdra*, whose special mark is the quality of service on account of his dependence, should be known as produced from the feet (the lowest of the limbs), that is from qualities of the lowest category like dullness of intellect ".[10]

Here Dayānanda clearly affirms a qualitative hierarchy from the Brahmin down to the *Śūdra*. This hierarchy is explained by the expression that the *varṇas* are produced from different ' parts ' of the *Puruṣa*, which parts are explained as referring to superior, or medium, or inferior ' qualities '. The interpretation goes no further, but it refers to the chapter on *Varṇāśrama*, where as it were a rider is added : " That man deserves to be a Brahmin, who is endowed with the highest qualities like knowledge, etc., and who is engaged in the worship of God and in the study of the *Vedas* ".[11] This interpretation leaves questions unanswered (after all it is only a *Bhūmikā*), and can easily give rise to the type of objection that is raised by the " objector " in the fourth chapter of the *Satyārtha Prakāśa* : [12] " Just as the mouth can never become an arm.....or *vice versa*, in the same way a Brahmin can never become a *Kṣatriya*....or *vice versa* ". In his answer Dayānanda further qualifies his interpretation of the stanza. He tells the objector that he has translated wrongly " Of him the Brahman is the mouth ", because thus he connects *asya* with *mukham*. *Asya* clearly refers grammatically to *Puruṣa*, ' of the formless spirit ', but to ascribe bodily organs to him is patently contradictory. Dayānanda also mentions other absurdities that would follow if one said that the Brahmin was created from the mouth of the *Puruṣa*. Therefore, since contradiction is *a prior* impossible in the *Ṛgveda*, *asya* cannot be connected with *mukham*. It should be connected with a word not expressed but supplied from the context, namely *sṛṣṭau* (locative singular case of *sṛṣṭi*) *asya sṛṣṭau brāhmaṇo mukham āsīt*. Then the verse translates : " In his creation, he who is (like) the mouth (the best and most prominent) is a Brahmin ". This is also exactly the interpretation given in the *Yajurvedabhāṣya*.

We can notice here a shift in interpretation between the *Bhūmikā* and the writing of the second edition of the *Satyārtha Prakāśa*[13] and of the *Yajurvedabhāṣya*. The shift seems not to be in the meaning of the text,[14] but it rather con-

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10 *Ṛgvedādibhāṣyabhūmikā*, Vaidik Yantrālay, Ajmer, 1980, p. 133.

11 *ibid.*, p. 257.

12 *Satyārtha Prakāśa*, Vaidik Yantrālay, Ajmer, 1966, p. 81.

13 The first edition of the *Satyārtha Prakāśa* also refers to the *Puruṣa Sūkta*, but it does not go into detail about its interpretation. Cf. *Satyārtha Prakāśa*, Benares, 1875, p. 96.

14 This is evident from what we called the " rider " in the section of the *Bhūmikā* on *varṇāśrama*.

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sists of a tightening of text-interpretation. The *Bhūmikā* still connected *asya* with *mukham*, but went on to insist that the latter really means "foremost qualities". Later on the link between *asya* and *mukham* is definitely broken : the verse now speaks no more of " the mouth of the *Puruṣa* ". Thus, one could say, this stanza of the hymn has become completely " demythologised ", and is brought into utter agreement with the basic theological principles of Dayānanda. Basically what has been solved is not a question in Dayānanda's mind as to the nature of *varṇa*, but a question of grammatical Vedic text interpretation.

What, then, are the basic ideas on *varṇa* that Dayānanda sees expressed in the hymn ? *Varṇa* implies a hierarchy of quality, but this is not determined by birth : the quality of man should determine his *varṇa*. It is also implied that this order of society as described in the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* was in fact the order existing in Vedic times, and that it is the normative ideal order for all times.

Ambedkar deals with the stanza in question in a totally different manner. His first reaction is to notice how different these verses are from the rest of the hymn. " Prima facie ", he says, " these verses do no more than explain how the four classes.....arose from the body of the Creator ".[15] But in fact they do more. Amidst cosmogonic imagination we find here " a divine injunction prescribing a particular form of the constitution of society ".[16] This stanza cannot be dismissed as mere cosmogonic speculation, it contains " a mandatory injunction from the Creator to the effect that society must be constituted on the basis of four classes ".[17] Ambedkar spends no time on text criticism : in fact he did not see his ignorance of Sanskrit as a bar to his historical research.[18] He affirms :

> " Such a construction of the verses may not be warranted by their language. But there is no doubt that according to tradition this is how the verses are construed, and it would indeed be difficult to say that this traditional construction is not in consonance with the intention of the author of the *Sūkta*. " [19]

That is all Ambedkar has to say about the text itself.

This injunction, he continues, then became the rigid mould of Aryan society, never questioned (except by the Buddha), defended by the Brahmins and their *Dharmasūtras*, and was finally invested by Manu " with a degree of divinity which it did not have before ",[20] when Manu stated, " The *Veda* is the only and ultimate sanction of *Dharma* " (II, 6).

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15 *Shudras*, p. 3.
16 *ibid.*, p. 4.
17 *ibid.*, p. 4.
18 *ibid.*, p. xiv.
19 *ibid.*, p. 4.
20 *ibid.*, p. 6.

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Ambedkar's critique of the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* then proceeds to use the historical method. His first line of argument is that the *Sūkta* departs from the general *Ṛgvedic* context in very significant ways. The *Ṛgveda* contains other cosmogonies, which not only evolve differently, but which moreover do not speak of the four *varṇas*, but of the creation of man, and of Manu as the progenitor of the human race. Whereas the *Ṛgveda* does refer to a division of labour, nowhere but in this *Sūkta* is this division converted into rigid occupational categories. The *Ṛgveda* also speaks of an Indo-Aryan nation grown out of the assimilation of the five tribes, something again overlooked by the *Sūkta*.[21]

One can see where the line of argumentation is heading for, and the final conclusion is reached in the latter part of the book. After having argued that there were originally only three *varṇas* (the *Śūdras* were at first *Kṣatriyas*) in the *Ṛgveda* and in the *Brāhmaṇas*, Ambedkar comes back to the *Puruṣa-Sūkta*. The mention of four *varṇas* in the *Sūkta* is incongruous and leads to an absurd position. The only way out of this absurd incongruity is to declare the *Puruṣa -Sūkta* a late interpolation. This Ambedkar then sets out to prove by " the canons of historical criticism ".[22] Language comparison is taken to prove later composition : Colebrooke, Max Müller and Weber are quoted to establish this point.[23] Other arguments put forward to argue the late composition of the text are : its absence from several *Saṃhitās*, its placement in miscellaneous and supplementary portions of the *Vedas*, and the freedom taken with the text itself by the different *Saṃhitās*. These arguments conclusively prove, says Ambedkar, that the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* is in fact a late interpolation.[24]

Ambedkar goes one step further. He notes the " difference in form " between stanzas 11-12 and the rest of the *Sūkta*, and suggests that these verses on *varṇa* were an even later addition. His final conclusion is " that the *Sūkta* is an addition to the *Ṛgveda* made at a later stage and is, therefore, no argument that there were four *varṇas* from the very beginning of the Aryan society. "[25]

Having thus closely considered the different ways in which Dayānand and Ambedkar deal with the *Puruṣa* hymn we can now compare more closely their respective frameworks of thought and methods of argumentation. The question we ask is not about the objective validity of their various arguments, but about their comprehensive framework of thought and method of reasoning as they are exemplified in their treatment of the *Sūkta*.

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21 *ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
22 *ibid.*, p. 147.
23 *ibid.*, pp. 148-149.
24 *ibid.*, pp. 149-151.
25 *ibid.*, p. 153.

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Dayānanda's reasoning revolves within a very definite framework, the essentials of which are his basic dogmas that the *Veda*s contain not only infallible revealed truth about God, but also the blueprint of the ideal society, a blueprint which, moreover, is the actual description of that ideal society as it existed in the Vedic Golden Age. This conception of the *Veda*s makes it absurd and impossible for Dayānanda to approach and study the *Veda*s in a comparative and historical way. What indeed can be gained from comparing revealed divine truth pre-dating history itself with the feeble human intellectual efforts of other cultures or of post-Vedic times, except a confirmation of the divinity of the former ? And how can historical research tell us more about the ideal structure of society than the God-given blueprint of the *Veda*s does ?

The only way in which Dayānanda can discuss a Vedic text and still remain within this frame of reference, is by asking one very important question : what exactly is the meaning of this particular text ? To answer this question only two methods are legitimate and available. First, there are the tools of grammar and linguistics, a science perfected by Pāṇini. Second, there is logical reasoning. God's word is by definition eminently reasonable and cannot contain contradictions and absurdities. Therefore, any interpretation that involves such contradiction must needs be wrong. We have seen how, in dealing with the *Puruṣa Sūkta*, these are the only tools in fact used by Dayānanda. *Asya* cannot be connected with *mukham* because it would imply a contradiction, which is impossible *Āsīt* is said to refer to all times, past, present and future, according to the grammatical rule enunciated in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3 . 4 . 6. These two arguments are the ones that justify the translation, " In the creation of God, he who is (the best and most prominent like) the mouth, is a Brahmin ".

Ambedkar's frame of reference concerning the *Veda*s is utterly different. To him the *Veda*s are only a " vulgar " historical text. As such they do not reveal sacred truths, but they furnish, in the midst of a lot of primitive myth and legend, a certain number of data that have historical interest : they tell us something about the composition of society in Vedic times. This society was the result of a particular historical evolution and its structure has nothing sacred or ideal about it. The text itself was composed by ordinary mortals, and therefore its very composition was motivated by human desires.

This framework dictates the way Ambedkar will analyse and study the text itself. Since the text is but a human composition and not a word-for-word divine utterance, its meaning need not be agonizingly established : the general consensus of the translations of scholars is sufficient to yield its essential meaning. Once this meaning is established and the particular social data are clarified, the historian goes to work. He compares these data with the other data on the same topic found in the same work, he compares them with those found in later works, and

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with those found in other cultures of a similar antiquity. We saw how this comparison led Ambedkar to the conclusion that the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* was an interpolation and did not reflect the conditions of Vedic times.

There is a second method by which Ambedkar scrutinizes the text : from the theoretical sociological angle. Whereas Ambedkar's historical approach is somehow parallel to the linguistic approach by Dayānanda (in that both are more of a " technical " nature), this sociological approach is rather parallel to Dayānanda's use of logical reasoning (in that both are of a " theoretical " nature). The basic objection of Ambedkar to the *Sūkta* in this context is that it elevates the real to the status of ideal, that it makes a real order of society into a static norm. This view, he says, is " opposed to all morality. No society with a social conscience has ever accepted it. "[26] This is so because, in his view, social ethics are an essentially dynamic force, changing with the very process of history in the continuous interaction of individuals and classes. Therefore, he concludes, the very composition of the *Sūkta* was not a function of social ethics , but it was inspired by an ulterior class motive: the wilful degradation of the śūdras.

This last point reveals a difference between Dayānanda and Ambedkar at a very deep level: their fundamental conception of social ethics and of the ideal society. To Dayānanda, both are basically static, as they are enshrined in the *Vedas* and in the Vedic times. To Ambedkar, both are dynamic concepts, being progressively discovered in the march of history itself. This does not imply, naturally, that Dayānanda was a static conservative. Only the frame of reference is a static one, because revealed by God. In his times he was an ardent reformer, because that ideal society of yore had degenerated and needed to be rebuilt from the very ruins of Hinduism. However, in this dynamic task of rebuilding, man is not groping in the dark: he possesses the divine blueprint of the Golden Age of the future in that of the Golden Age of the past.[27]

A few similarities only are to be found in Ambedkar's and Dayānandas treatment of the *Sūkta*, but they are significant. Both emphatically reject the assignment to social status by the accident of birth, as upheld by traditional orthodoxy. Both accept, be it in very different ways, the morality and necessity of social mobility for the individual. Both also accuse the Brahmins of having ossified and perpetuated a system of *varṇa*-by-birth for selfish reasons: to perpetuate their own privileges and to deprive others of many basic rights. In these three important points the two reformers radically oppose the traditional doctrines and structures of orthodoxy. And orthodoxy was very aware of it.

26 *Shudras*, p. 15.

27 For a detailed analysis of these ideas, cf. Jordens J. T. F., *Dayānanda Sarasvatī, His Life and Ideas*, O.U.P., Delhi, *passim*.

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Ambedkar, being an untouchable, was beyond the strictures of orthodoxy, but Dayānanda, the Brahmin, was not, and in 1881 a Council of orthodox paṇḍits declared that in five points of doctrine Dayānanda offended orthodoxy: one of these points was his denial of the full authority of the Brahmins.[28]

We have noted in Ambedkar and Dayānanda a very close relation between their fundamental frame of reference regarding the *Veda* and Vedic times on the one hand, and their methods of criticism of Vedic material on the other. We would now like to suggest that in both personalities there is a deeper source of both these factors and their close relationship. That source is their basic passions for social reform. Both were in different ways great masters of their disciplines. Ambedkar's historical and sociological competence were vast, and Dayānanda's linguistic and theological powers were admirable indeed. Yet, their works cannot be taken to be primarily scholarly works. To view and criticize them as such would be an academic exercise of little value. Their writings are works in which these considerable powers of analysis and reason are put to work by an overriding, all-absorbing passion for social reform. Their writings, to be properly understood, must be connected with their activity as reformers. In fact, their writings are essentially an integral part of that very activity.

The author of *Who were the Shudras*? was the untouchable who became the great leader of his brothers in their fight for social justice; the author of the *Satyārtha Prakāśa* was the Brahmin who, disgusted with the decadence of Hinduism, wanted to restore it to its ancient glory. Their respective interpretations of the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* find their ultimate justification in those facts. Dayānanda's interpretation of the *Sūkta* was basically concerned with this one thing: to interpret it in such a way that orthodoxy could no longer claim it as a divine proof of Brahmin privileges, as an argument for caste by birth, as a barrier against social mobility. Ambedkar wanted to show that in early Vedic times, there were no Śūdras, they were in fact kṣatriyas, and therefore the *Sūkta* which mentions Śūdras had to be proven to be a later fabrication. This is not to accuse them of intellectual dishonesty. It is only to stress that both these men harnassed their considerable intellectual powers of analysis and reason not just in the service of "academic" interest, but for the much more worthwhile cause of building a better society.

One cannot but admire these two giants of thought and action as they look at the Cosmic Man : they appear as men of one piece, integrated personalities in whom the passion for social reform guided both their intellectual and their organizational genius at every moment of their struggle.

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28 For details of this meeting, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 218-9.

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BHARTṚHARI'S IDEA OF GRAMMAR

By

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY*

Bhartṛhari is a great creative thinker of the fifth century A.D. whose contribution to Indian linguistics, and especially philosophy of language, remains unequalled in the history of ancient Indian thought. He not only inherited the theory grammatical tradition in Vedic schools most of which has been lost today beyond recovery (cf. his references to pre-Pāṇinian grammarians such as Audumbarāyaṇa and Vārtākṣa) but also was an heir to the thought-currents that saw the rise of the three great Sanskrit grammarians—Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. More than all, he studied under Vasurāta, a senior contemporary of the Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu, and was familiar with a relativist and rationalistic approach to reality. Hence in Bhartṛhari's *magnum opus* viz., the *Vākyapadīya* we see him raising some of the most seminal and vital philosophical issues though in the context of linguistics. So much so that his findings came to be accepted with minor adjustments by *Advaita* thinkers like Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara on the one hand and Tantric thinkers of Kashmir Śaivism like Somānanda and Utpala on the other. Even master theorists of poetry like Ānandavardhana were influenced by the terminology first enunciated by Bhartṛhari in the context of language as such. The doctrine of *dhvani* in poetry is admittedly a off-shoot of Bhartṛhari's *sphoṭavāda* or teaching that meaning is revealed in a flash by the total *dhvani* or sound-unit constituted by a sentence.

The *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari is more a philosophical disquisition on the fundaments of language in general and the scriptural language of Sanskrit in particular. The differences of opinion on minutiae of grammatical detail are of inconsequence; and they arise because of insufficient attention to the basic issues underlying the very process of grammatical analysis (*apoddhāra*) and description (*anvākhyāna*). Grammar, according to him is a science (*śāstra*) devised by specialists to serve a practical pedagogical purpose. Its procedure is *laukika* or *vyāvahārika*, i.e. practical and popular. But the greatness of the Indian *vaiyākaraṇa* tradition lies in its synthesis of the popular and the scientific, the secular and the sacred, the apparent and the absolutely real. It steers a middle course between the Buddhist stance of extreme subjectivism or nihilism and the Vedāntic peak of Absolutism, and adopts a uniquely relativistic perspective, accommodating equally *Nyāya* realism and *Mīmāṁsā* positivism.

Without entering into these wider issues, we can only focus our attention on some of the questions raised by Bhartṛhari which have a philosophical bearing

* Prof. and Head, Deptt. of Sanskrit, Karnatak University, Dharwad.

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on the very process of grammatical treatment of any language. Broadly stated, they touch upon semantic and semeiotic issues on the one hand and the even more fundamental metaphysics revolving around truth or reality and appearance. The hermeneutics of Vedic scriptures are reconciled by him in this final harmony of Absolute Truth accounting for religious merit (*dharma*) which is promised by tradition to a dedicated student of *Vyākaraṇa*.

Simply stated, language can serve several purposes. Bhartṛhari cannot ignore any one of them in his comprehensive thought. The foremost purpose of language as conceived by sages was the sacred. Man can approach gods and the Ultimate Godhead only through perfectly grammatical and phonetically impeccable incantations of sacred hymns. That is why, in India grammar was deemed as the first and foremost *vedāṅga* or aid to Vedic learning (cf. *mukhaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ smṛtaṃ*). This religious demand lent great sanctity to the task of the grammarian who had to analyse scientifically the sounds of the language and evolve an analysis, at once perfect and accurate. Phonology thus became the primary concern of the Indian grammarian ; and the phonetical classifications of both vowels and consonants in their diverse accented and unaccented forms found in the Vedic language remain a marvel of minute observation and scientific treatment even today. These had been already perfected by the time of Bhartṛhari in *Śikṣā*s and *Prātiśākhya*s. Bhartṛhari, therefore, gives us no new additions to their analysis of sounds (*varṇa*s) or *pada*s (words). The grammatical analysis of *pada*s and descriptions of inflections in the manner of modern generative grammar perfected by Pāṇini and his followers, viz. Kātyayana and Patañjali, were accepted without a demur by Bhartṛhari. The scattered references to *Vākya* in Pāṇini lead to some detailed inquiries in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. Bhartṛhari takes upon himself the task of tackling the most underlying question in linguistics, viz., what is the smallest unit of meaning in language ? Is it *varṇa* or *pada* or *vākya* ?

In order to substantiate the revelatory character of Vedic language, *Mīmāṁsaka*s headed by Upavarṣa had conceived that the syllables themselves are eternal and they combine to form words which become meaning-units when they take their inflections. These meaning-units of *pada*s came to be construed in a required order (*anvita*) to form sentences which denote meaning. Syntax in other words, is an essential part of grammar according to them.

The *Tārkika*s asked the question what relation (*sambandha*) bound the words with meanings and proposed the answer that it was *saṅketa* or a convention handed down to posterity from times immemorial by people and perhaps traceable back to God himself ! While this solved the problem of primary lexical meaning of words, they spoke of a secondary power of words (*lakṣaṇa*) to account for all figurative meanings found usually in popular parlance.

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When subjected to the searching scrutiny of the philosopher Bhartṛhari, all his appears inadequate. He says that these do not explain fully the phenomenon of the fused structure of thought-language-meaning. The speaker's thought is a nental construct which comes to be expressed vocally in the form of syllables vith varying shades of tone, stress and pitch in a sequence and these sounds ecome meaning in the listener's mind. Really speaking, there is no direct or ıvariable connection between sound and external empirical objects or the stener's mental constructs of them. All mental constructs are only *vikalpa*s; ney can exist in the mind even when their corresponding objects in the external orld are non-existent. How can each vocal sound following another in succes-ion during different instants of time combine physically to constitute a *pada* ? Each instant is momentary and the sound pronounced first will have disappeared vithout any trace by the time the last sound comes to be uttered. The Buddhist dea of fleeting moments is true here at least. How can parts of different noments form a single whole at all ?

The answer of the logicians that the sounds leave mental impressions in the tener which combine at the time of the last syllable's utterance on the part of e speaker is too elementary indeed. How can anyone swear that the sequence es not get mixed up in such impressions ? Tricks of memory are far too mmon. A single mix-up would yield different meanings to different listeners. ne might understand *rasa*, while another understands *sara*. But that never appens.

So the only right solution that Bhartṛhari proposes is that *śabda* or *vāk* or eech is one total, partless, indivisible, eternal Reality or Absolute (*Brahman*). is not just a man-made mechanism or symbol for denoting objects. It repre-nts the very primordial thought-stuff which accounts for creation of the world elf, the very raw-material of the universe. It is in this cosmic eternal aspect, at *śabda* is called *sphoṭa* and it is said to be envisioned by *ṛṣi*s or seers of the *da* (cf. II.139).[1]

While Buddhists undervalue the importance of *śabda* by saying that words ate only to mental concepts without any reference whatever to reality, artṛhari affirms that there can be no knowledge or concept without words. It hrough *vāk* only that consciousness can ever be communicated. If there were be no language, there would be no thought in the world. The human beings uld have remained uncivilized even like animals in the deep recesses of dark-ignorance. Speech is therefore invoked as the heavenly light that illumines human life, in its myriad aspects and all human thought in its diverse nches of science and art. If grammar is thus intimately bound up with philo-

1 References, unless otherwise mentioned, are to *Vākyapadiya*, Ed. Abhyankar K. V. and aye V. P., University of Poona, 1965.

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sophy, the scope of grammar indeed becomes immensely wide. There woul almost be nothing which will not come indirectly within the realm of grammar.

The philosophical categories of grammar, then, like logic, include th relations of universal and particular (*jāti-vyakti*), co-inherence (*sāmānādi karaṇya*), cause and effect (*hetu and kāraṇa*), part and whole (*avayav avayavin*) substance (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*), the original (*prakṛti*) and derivative (*vikṛti*) and *śakti* or potency. Time (*kāla*) and space (*dik*) t are regarded by Bhartṛhari as potencies inherent in objects.

Apart from these, language has a logic peculiar to itself too ; and th are *paribhāṣās*, or grammatical procedures. While some may be purely technic others may be inductively derived from observation of worldly experien These are called *nyāya-siddha* or *loka-nyāya-siddha*. That a verb should ag with the subject in number and person is a rule of syntax which comes un this class.

This adaptability of grammar to the tenets of other philosophical syste is its uniqueness according to Puṇyarāja, the commentator of Bhartṛhari. E a confuted tenet can be adopted for purposes of easy presentation :—

> *pratikṣiptamapi pakṣam vyavahārārthamaṅgīkaroti ṭīkākāraḥ. Yataḥ sarva-pārṣadamidaṁ hi vyākaraṇa-śāstraṃ. Tatra cāyaṁ sthita ityatra pada-padārthāvaṅgīkaroti.*
>
> (Puṇyarāja on *Vākyapadīya* II.p.250 ; K.A. Subrahmanya Iyer's e

Grammar's primary concern is with *vyavahāra* or actual linguistic usage people and to help them grasp the units or parts of speech So grammat *apoddhāra* and *anvākhyāna* are concessions to *vyavahāra* or appearance, tho the *paramārtha* or ultimate truth is otherwise. Hence it has to deal with p of speech into *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* etc. though the ultimate truth remains *vākya* is essentially an indivisible and partless whole. This indivisibilit within the reach of the innate vision (*pratibhā*) of only seers. But ordi grammars must climb down to the level of the commoners and resort t artificial analysis. Even such an analysis becomes possible because a sent has interconnected parts with action (*kriyā*) at its core. We can analy subject—word into its base and inflection, so too we can analyse a sentence words artificially. Such an analysis must be deemed as a means (*upāya* the end, viz., grammatical explanation of the sentence (Ibid. ; III. pt. i.p.182

The analysis of sentence into meaningful units involves a clear noti several accessories of an action like the agent, the instrument, the object person for whose sake it is done, the locus etc. These are called *kāraka* accessories of action and they take particular case-endings. The nominative just convey a basic meaning of the noun and its gender, person and me

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ne genetive may convey a number of other relations like that of a master and a rvant, without direct reference to any action. It will be seen that Bhartṛhari as to devote a lot of attention to these *kārakas* since Sanskrit is a highly flectional language and the treatment is throughout semantic. The notions of tivity and passivity and their commixture too come under this head.

The grammatical term for word in Sanskrit is *pada* which is defined as a un or verb stem plus its nominal or conjugational suffix (*suptiñantaṁ padaṁ* Pāṇini). The grammarian can show the etymology of a word by analysing suffix from its basic part. Such a meaningfully derivable word is *vaugika; ramayatīti Rāmaḥ*; Rāma is one who delights one and all. But a word ose etymological meaning is different from the one in current usage is called *ḍha* or idiomatic; e.g. *Karṇa* in the sentence '*Kunti-sutaḥ karṇaḥ*'. All irative usages of words are generally governed more by idiom than by etymo- e.g. *kuśala*, by etymology, means one who cuts green grass-blades carefully thout injuring his fingers); but by usage it means just 'clever'. So too the rd *pra-vīṇa* which etymologically means one who can play well on the lute. in general usage, it just means 'expert'.

What exactly do individual words like 'cow' denote ? This is another t point among Indian thinkers. Bhartṛhari is of opinion that they denote or universals along with their incidental *guṇas* or distinctive qualities, actions names. "*Na hi gauḥ svarūpeṇa gauḥ, nāpyagauḥ; gotvābhi-sambandhāttu ḥ*". A word cow is not a cow or non-cow by its nature; but becomes a cow n it comes to mean an individual under the universal of cowness. This prin- e of Bhartṛhari has been adopted into literary theory also by Mammaṭa.

So far as production of articulate speech is concerned, Bhartṛhari recog- s three levels in the realization of the *vākya-sphoṭa* or sentence-meaning as a le. First it is realized as the integral symbol itself, graphically and phonically able, followed by the sequential phonological pattern that expresses it, as halized (*prākṛta-dhvani*) by the elimination of all individual variations and ly, by the realization of this in the individual utterance of the sentences *kṛta-dhvani*). A still further step of the relationship of *dhvani* on the one and *sphoṭa* on the other, is had in Ānandavardhana's dictum—*kāvyasyātmā niḥ* where *Dhvani* refers to the realization of literary emotions.

Potencies (*śakti*) in *śabda* are many (II.254) but their *pratibhā* or envision- is one ! (I.118). *Apoddhāra* or analysis is possible at all only because of nfinite ways in which *śakti* operates (II.88). But the *pratibhā* of the listener ch that it can grasp the whole through the parts (II.143) and it can be ated by education and practice (II.152). The meanings of syllables and without suffixes etc. is only technical, if any; case-endings of compounds,

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kṛt and *taddhita* suffixes etc. endow them with meaning by virtue of their contac
(II.210-211).

About parts of speech, the Indian grammatical tradition is agreed on t
view that nouns and verbs with their several case-endings and conjugation
suffixes are primary and they might be taken together with indeclinables attache
to them, viz., *nipāta*s and *upasarga*s. Bhartṛhari goes into their underlyi
concepts which are more metaphysical than grammatical. In the treatment
categories like *kāla* (Time), Bhartṛhari turns even poetic :—

taṁ asya lokayantrasya
sūtradhāraṁ pracakṣate.
pratibandhābhyanujñābhyāṁ
tena viśvaṁ vibhajyate (III. 9.4)

" Time is described indeed as the key-manipulator of this vast machine which
our world. Everything in this universe is determined by his dissent or assent

Such is the meta-logical perspective of Bhartṛhari who is the forem
spokesman of the great Indian grammatical tradition. He would not claim
fallibility for any individual's thinking. He would rather keep his mind o
and consider with humility the findings of the forerunners in the field.
conclude in his own words :—

prajñā vivekaṁ labhate
bhinnairāgama-darśanaiḥ.
kiyadvā śakyamunnetuṁ
svatarkamanudhāvatā. (II.486)

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BHĀSA GUṆĀḌHYA AND ŚŪDRAKA[1]

By

SUDARSHAN KUMAR SHARMA*

Bhāsa, Guṇāḍhya and Śūdraka, the three mighty stalwarts of Sanskrit erature in the field of drama and popular tale have been dealt with critically many an Indian and occidental scholar in their many-sided literary activity but ir chronological position as parent authors for the posterity has eluded the asp of most of these. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, Prof. C. R. Devdhar, Prof. A.S.P. yar, Dr. Jagdīśadatta Dīkṣita, Dr. Baladeva Upādhyāya, Mahāmahopādhyaya Gaṇapati Śāstrī are the prominent scholars inspired to make a critical examin-on of Bhāsa's works, Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* (hitherto extinct since long) l Śūdraka's famous drama *Mṛcchakaṭikaṃ*.[2] V. R. R. Dīkṣitāra establishes āsa as a predecessor of Kauṭilya who according to him knew the existence of āsa's plays and made use of them in the composition of his great treatise.[3] art from the parallels drawn by Prof. Dīkṣitāra, I am to remark that Kauṭilya w at least the Udayana Plays of Bhāsa and especially among them his *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* to which he has alluded in his *Arthaśāstra*[4] as under :

"दृष्टा हि जीवतः पुनरावृत्तिर्यथा सुयात्रोदयनाभ्याम ।"

the coming back to the throne of one continuing to live is observed as in the e of Suyātra and Udayana.[5] Suyātra according to R. P. Kangle is a variant ıe of Nala.[6] It can also refer to *Svapnavāsavadattaṃ* in so far as the regain-ıt of the throne by Udayana forms also the theme of this play which is a uel to *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* which likewise deals with the same type of idents in the life of the same characters at an earlier stage.

Śūdraka also knew Bhāsa's *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* to which he seems to lluding in his *Mṛcchakaṭika*[7] as under :—

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* Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, Rajendra Govt. College, Bhatinda (Punjab).

1 Paper presented at the 29th All India Oriental Conference held in May, 1978 at Poona, njunction with the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research tute, Poona-4.

2 Katre, S. M. and Gode, P. K. 'Bhāsa and Kauṭilya' *P. V. Kane Commemoration ne*. pp. 165-167.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

4 Kangle, R. P. KAŚ, Part I, IX, 7. 36, p. 230.

5 KAŚ Part II, p. 497.

6 *Ibid.*, of 36, p. 497.

7 Kale, M. R. Act IV, verse 26, p. 152; Tripathi, R. S. p. 281.

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" ज्ञातीन्विटान् स्वभुजविक्रमलब्धवर्णान्
राजापमानकुपितांश्च नरेन्द्रभृत्यान् ।
उत्तेजयामि सुहृदः परिमोक्षणाय
यौगन्धरायण इवोदयनस्य राज्ञः ॥ "

This exclamation of Śarvilaka purports forth—

" Now I will-

Incite (to rebellion) kinsmen (mine and Āryaka's) the city rakes, r
that have won fame through the valour of their own arms (i.e. free lancers)
such servants of the king as have been alienated through being insulted by hi
(all) for the release of my friend (Āryaka) just as Yaugandharāyaṇa
(incite people) for the release of King Udayana ".[8]

This allusion of Śūdraka certainly refers to the averment undertake
Yaugandharāyaṇa in the first act[9] as also in the IIIrd act.[10]

" यदि शत्रुबलग्रस्तो राहुणा चन्द्रमा इव ।
मोचयामि न राजानं नास्मि यौगन्धरायणः ॥ "

This exclamation of Yaugandharāyaṇa in Act I strikes a parallel with.

" प्रियसुहृदमकारणे गृहीतम्
रिपुभिरसाधुभिराहितात्मशङ्कैः ।
सरभसमभिपत्य मोचयामि
स्थितमिव राहुमुखे शशाङ्कबिम्बम् ॥ "[11]

of Śūdraka which purports forth.

" My dear friend, who has been arrested causelessly by the wicked ene
feeling alarmed in their minds, I will release by a sudden onset, as if he we
lunar orb lying in the jaws of Rāhu ".[12]

This point proves Bhāsa to be a predecessor of Śūdraka who has borr
from him on improved grounds. This fact can be corroborated by int
evidence of unimpeccable character. Bhāsa has mentioned Gopālaka

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8 Kale, M. R. *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Eng. translation, p. 153.

9 Sharma, S. K. *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, I.16 Messrs Motilal Banarsi Dass, D
1965, (First edition), p. 49.

10 सुभद्रामिव गाण्डीवी नागः पद्मलतामिव
यदि तां नाहरेद्राजा नास्मि यौगन्धरायणः ।
यदि तां चैव तं चैव तां चैवायतलोचनाम् ।
नाहरामि नृपं चैव नास्मि यौगन्धरायणः ॥

Ibid., III. 8-9, P. 140.

11 Kale, M. R. *Mṛcchakaṭikaṃ*, IV.27, p. 154.

12 *Ibid.*, Eng. translation, p. 155.

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...aka as the two sons of Mahāsena (Pradyota)[13] who has been described as ...ounting the character-contrast between the two sons as under :—

"I have my eldest son Gopālaka who is well-versed in the dicta of ...*haśāstra* (i.e. the Science of administration and state craft). But the younger ..., Pālaka, though accustomed to physical exercise, is repugnant to music".[14]

... *Arthaśāstra* alluded to by Bhāsa, must positively be the text of Bṛhaspati ...h has been categorically referred to by him in his *Pratimānāṭaka* wherein ...aṇa has been described as calling himself as belonging to *Kāśyapagotra* well ...ed in the Veda along with its auxiliary lore, *Dharmaśāstra* of the school of the ...avas, *Yogaśāstra* of the *Māheśvara* school, *Arthaśāstra* of the school of ...spati, *Nyāyaśāstra* of *Medhātithi* and *Śrāddhakalpa* of the *Prācetasa* School ...[15]

As Bhāsa is silent about Kauṭilya and his *Arthaśāstra* which hardly ...ys any impact upon his works and especially on the *Pratijñāyaugandhrāyaṇa* ... the *Svapnavāsavadattaṃ*, the latter being a sequel to the former we can ...y presume that he did not know anything about Kauṭilya who was his ...ssor by all means. Śūdraka has referred to Āryaka as the son of Gopālaka ... according to the Chief of the Police (*Rāṣṭrīya*) was likely to be the future ... of Ujjayinī, on account of his belief in the prophecy of a seer (*Siddha*). ... i.e. Āryaka) had been thrown into prison, by the king Pālaka after having ... brought from the hamlet of the cowherds (*ghoṣa*) where he had taken ...r.[16] "*Siddhādeśapratyayaparitrastena*" is significant in the text in so far ...ālaka had fears that Āryaka the genuine aspirant to the throne of Pradyota, ... the son of the eldest son of the latter i.e. Gopālaka, who might have either ...killed by Pālaka or might have abdicated in favour of the latter as evinced ...Guṇāḍhaya in his *Bṛhatkathā* (*Kathāsaritsāgara* of *Somadeva*)[17] whose ...ns are albeit conventional based on legend and hearsay.

... अर्थशास्त्रगुणग्राही ज्येष्ठो गोपालकः सुतः ।
... गान्धर्वद्वेषी व्यायामशाली चाप्यनुपालकः

—*Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, II.13, by author.

... *Ibid.*, p. 91 by author.

... रावणः—(आत्मगतम्) यावदहमपि ब्राह्मणसमुदाचारमनुष्ठास्यामि । (प्रकाशम्) काश्यप-गोत्रोऽस्मि । साङ्गोपाङ्गं वेदमधीये मानवीयं धर्मशास्त्रं माहेश्वरं योगशास्त्रम् बार्हस्पत्यमर्थशास्त्रम् , मेधातिथेर्न्यायशास्त्रम् , प्राचेतसं श्राद्धकल्पम् च ।

... Devadhara, C. R. *Bhāsanāṭakacakram*, p. 296.

... राष्ट्रियः समाज्ञापयति—" एषः खल्वार्यको गोपालदारको राजा भविष्यतीति सिद्धादेशप्रत्ययपरित्रस्तेन पालकेन राज्ञा घोषादानीय घोरे बन्धनागारे बद्धः । *Mṛcchakaṭika*, p. 152.

... सः कौशाम्बीस्थितोऽकस्मादुज्जयिन्याः समागतात् ।
... दूताच्चण्डमहासेनं विपन्नमशृणोन्नृपम् ॥

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There is no specific mention of the fact in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* that Gopālaka elder brother of Pālaka and sire of Āryaka was put to death by Pālaka throug invidious moves. But to infer such a situation won't be an exaggeratio Gopālaka's taking to renunciation as postulated by Guṇāḍhya may be poe concealment or even a mis-statement of the facts like so many instances of t same available in earlier and later references such as pertaining to the paral of the themes of *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*[18] and *Svapnavāsavadattaṃ* drawn way of a comparative study of the play-twain and *Kathāsaritsāgara*. A cont versy is imminent on the interpretation of the term ' Gopāladāraka " in 16 ab as well as in :

" एषोऽद्य गोपालदारको गुप्तिं भङ्क्त्वा गुप्तिपालकं व्यापाद्य बन्धनं भित्त्वा परिभ्रष्टोऽपक्रामति ॥
" कथमार्यको गोपालदारकः श्येनवित्रासित इव पत्ररथः शाकुनिकस्य हस्ते निपतितः ॥ "[20]

The association of the word " *Ghoṣādānīya* " with " *Gopāladārakaḥ* " i above as well as in :

" भोः ! अहं खलु सिद्धादेशजनितपरित्रासेन राज्ञा पालकेन घोषादानीय विशसने गू बन्धनेन बद्धः तस्माच्च प्रियसुहृच्छर्विलकप्रसादेन बन्धनात्परिभ्रष्टोऽस्मि ॥ "[21]

and

चारुदत्तः—शर्विलक ! योऽसौ पालकेन घोषादानीय निष्कारणकूटागारे बद्धः आर्यकनामा त्वया मोचितः makes the confusion worse confounded. Āryaka's own confession that he " *Gopālaprakṛtiḥ*

तस्याङ्गारवतीं देवीं कृतानुगमनां तथा ।
तस्मादेव सः शुश्राव मोहाद्भूमौ पपात च ।
— — — —
ततः श्वशुर्यं शोकार्त्तं स्नेहात्पार्श्वस्थितं तदा ।
गोपालकं सः वत्सेशो बाष्पकण्ठोऽभ्यभाषत ॥
उत्तिष्ठोज्जयिनीं गच्छ राज्यं पालय पैतृकम् ॥
प्रतीक्षन्ते प्रजाः हि त्वामिति दूतमुखाच्छ्रुतम् ॥
तच्छ्रुत्वा सः रुदन्वत्सराजं गोपालकोऽब्रवीत् ॥
न देव गन्तुं शक्नोमि त्यक्त्वा त्वां भगिनीं तथा ॥
न चोत्सहे तातशून्यां स्वपुरीं द्रष्टुमप्यहम् ।
तत्पालकोऽनुजो मेऽत्र राजाऽस्तु मदनुज्ञया ॥

Kathāsaritsāgara, Lambaka XVI, *Taraṅga* I Verses 55, 56, 60-63, Messrs Banarasi Dass, Delhi 7, 1970, p. 527.

18 Sharma, S. K. *Introduction to Pratijñāyaugandhrāyaṇa*
19 Kale, M. R. *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, Act VI, p. 224.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 234.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 224.
22 *Ibid.*, Act X, p. 392.

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" शरणागतो गोपालप्रकृतिः आर्यकोऽस्मि ॥ "[23]

eems to scare this confusion away.

Since Bhāsa and Guṇāḍhya are of the same mind in deeming Gopālaka a son of Mahāsena, the king of Ujjayinī, we cannot afford to close our eyes the facts of history by construing Gopālaka to mean a cowherd and Gopāla-raka Āryaka as a Cowherd's boy in so far as he has been mentioned in relation th Pālaka who is again a son of Mahāsena, being the ruler of Ujjayinī. draka being a close follower of Bhāsa (as evidenced by 11 above) could rdly miss an opportunity to dramatise the political up-heavals in Ujjayinī nsequent upon either the forced dethronement of Gopālaka or a political rder of the latter and the subsequent incarceration of Āryaka who might have d to the hamlets of the cowherds (*Ghoṣa*) in order to escape death at the hands his uncle—Pālaka, who has been compared to the falcon frightening an ordi-ry bird which is represented by Āryaka, the Gopāladāraka.[24] This obviously olies inveterate animosity of Pālaka, the usurper of his elder brother's throne, ards Āryaka, his nephew who must not be construed as a cowherd's boy but on of Gopālaka, the elder brother of Pālaka, the reigning Sovereign, the timate claimant to the suzerainty of Ujjayinī. Hence the term 'Gopāla-kṛtiḥ' must also be construed to mean a 'scion of Gopālaka' who lay gnito in the hamlet of the cowherds who had their cudgels on behalf of the timate heir to the throne, who was a favourite of the citizens of Ujjayinī, were feeling pestered by the licentious and atrocious tendencies of Śakāra *aṃsthānaka*), the royal brother-in-law of Pālaka who had afforded him all the ue privileges of a royal dignitary.

" यदुद्यते पालके महती रक्षा न वर्त्तते तच्छीघ्रमपक्रामतु भवान् "[25]

roborates the idea of Pālaka being an atrocious King, Śarvilaka's ultimate lamation that

"The wicked-souled Pālaka, who was staying in the sacrificial enclosure, slaughtered like a (sacrificial) animal by Āryaka of noble deeds, thus ntaining (the greatness of) his family and his honour ".[26]

In an earlier reference Pālaka has been called a " Wicked King " and one lacked both strength and wise counsel, by Śarvilaka who claims to have

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Ibid., Act VII, p. 246.
See 21 above.
Mṛcchakaṭikam-VI, p. 250.
आर्यकेणार्यवृत्तेन कुलं मानं च रक्षता ।
पशुवद्यज्ञवाटस्थो दुरात्मा पालको हतः ॥
Ibid., X.51, p. 392.

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inspired confidence among the citizens through superior prowess, by killing him and installing Āryaka immediately on to the throne of Ujjayinī. All these go to establish the point that Āryaka, son of Gopālaka, the legitimate heir to the throne of Ujjayinī had inspired the citizens to revolt and the secret overture brought the desired result. In comparison with Bhāsa we can easily find that Śūdraka has referred to Gopālaka, Pālaka and Āryaka, the son of Gopālaka whereas Bhāsa has referred to Gopālaka and Pālaka as the two sons of Mahāsena and nothing beyond that.

Hence Śūdraka who has mentioned the name of the grand-son of Mahāsena must be posterior to Bhāsa who has mentioned his sons only. In the *Bṛhatkathā* (*Kathāsaritsāgara*) we find mention of Avantivardhan[28] who was the son of Palāka, the son of Mahāsena king of Ujjayinī. We also find Naravāhanadatta, the son of Udayana from Vāsavadattā forming one of the major characters of half of the *Bṛhatkathā* (*KSS*) and involved in as many as twelve romances culminating in marriages. Hence Āryaka, the son of Gopālaka (mentioned by Śūdraka) and Naravāhanadatta (son of Udayana) and Avantivardhana (son of Pālaka) both mentioned by Guṇāḍhya) help us conclude the idea that both Śūdraka and Guṇāḍhya were posterior to Bhāsa. Both have alluded to Cāṇakya [29] who was a successor of Bṛhaspati mentioned by Bhāsa (already referred to).

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27 हत्वा तं कुनृपमहं हि पालकं-
भोस्तद्राज्ये द्रुतमभिषिच्य चार्यकं तम् ॥ and
हत्वा रिपुं तं बलमन्त्रहीनं ।
पौरान् समाश्वास्य पुनः प्रकर्षात् ॥
etc. *Ibid.*, X.47.48, p. 390.

28 अस्त्युज्जयिन्यां भूपतिः श्रीमान्पालकसंज्ञकः ।
कुमारस्तस्य पुत्रोऽस्ति सुनामाऽवन्तिवर्धनः ॥ *KSS* XVI 2.13 p. 259.

29 इत्युक्त्वा शकटालस्तं चाणक्यमनयद्गृहम् ।
ततः सः गत्वा चाणक्यो धुरि श्राद्ध उपाविशत् ॥
BKM XVIII, Verse 100, p. 608, N.S.

सोऽथ कोपेन चाणक्यो ज्वलन्निव समन्ततः ।
निजां मुक्त्वा शिखां तत्र प्रतिज्ञामकरोदिमाम् ॥
अवश्यं हन्त नन्दोऽयं सप्तभिर्दिवसैर्मया ।
विनाश्यो बन्धनीया च ततो निर्मन्युना शिखा ॥ *BKM*, p. 24.215, 216, 217.
Ibid., I.5, Verses 114, 115, 118, 119, p. 14. and
केशहस्ते परामृष्टा चाणक्येनेव द्रौपदी
along with
चाणक्येन यथा सीता मारिता भारते युगे ।
Mṛcchakaṭika I.39, p. 44 and VIII, 35, p. 288.

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This may prove the point that both Guṇāḍhya and Śūdraka were the ıccessors of Cāṇakya or at the most his junior contemporaries. Śūdraka seems) have quoted Kauṭilya (Cāṇakya) at a number of places. "*evam mantro ıkṣito bhavati*" [30]

seems to bear semblance of—"*mantro vā rakṣyate*" [31] of Kauṭilya.

"इह हि द्विविधो व्यवहारः । वाक्यानुसारेण अर्थानुसारेण च । यस्तावद्वाक्यानुसारेण सः र्थिप्रत्यर्थिभ्यः । यश्चार्थानुसारेण सः चाधिकरणिकबुद्धिनिष्पाद्यः ॥[32]

ong with—

चिन्तासक्तनिमग्नमन्त्रिसलिलं दूतोर्मिशङ्काकुलम्
पर्यन्तस्थितचारनक्रमकरं नागाश्वहिंसाश्रयम् ।
नानावाशककङ्कपक्षिनिचितं कायस्थसर्पास्पदं
नीतिक्षुण्णतटं च राजकरणं हिंस्रैः समुद्रायते ॥[33]

"चारेक्षणस्य नृपतेः"[34] "पश्येयु क्षितिपतयो हि चारदृष्ट्या"[35]

"शत्रुः कृतापराधः शरणमुपेत्य पादयोः पतितः शस्त्रेण
न हन्तव्यः उपकारहतस्तु कर्त्तव्यः ॥"[36]

आकर्षन्तु सुबद्ध्वैनं श्वभिः संखाद्यतामथ ।
शूले वा तिष्ठतामेषः पाट्यतां क्रकचेन वा ॥[37]

"लब्धा चारित्र्यशुद्धिश्चरणनिपतितः शत्रुरप्येषः मुक्तः
प्रोत्खातारातिमूलः प्रियसुहृदचलामार्यकः शास्ति राजा ॥"[38]

eem to bear the impact of *Kauṭilīyamarthaśāstram* which has dealt with such ics in details in the text which contains—

"दूतमुखाः हि राजानः"[39] "दुर्दर्शो हि राजा कार्याकार्यविपर्यासमापन्नैः कार्यते ॥"[40] ासन न्यायवृत्तिमभियुक्तं प्रकृतयोऽनुगृह्णन्ति लघुव्यसनमन्यायवृत्तिमुपेक्षन्ते विरक्ताः बलवन्तमप्युद्दन्ति ॥"[41] "दुर्बलं तु न्यायवृत्तिमभियुक्तं प्रकृतयः परिगृह्णन्ति । अनुनिष्पतन्ति वा ॥"[42]

) *Mṛcchakaṭikam* VIII, p. 298.
Kangle, R. P. *KAŚ.* Pt. I. I. 15.40, p. 20.
Mṛcchakaṭikam.IX, p. 318.
3 *Ibid.*, IX 14, p. 324.
Ibid., IX.9, p. 322.
Ibid., VII.8, p. 250.
Ibid., X.55, p. 396.
Ibid., X.54, p. 394.
4 *Ibid.*, X.59, p. 404.
5 *KAŚ*.I.16.13, p. 21, pt. I.
6 *Ibid.*, I.19.27, p. 27.
Ibid., VII.5, 10, p. 175.
Ibid., VII.5, 10, p. 175.

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"मन्त्रशक्तिसम्पन्नो हि वन्ध्यबुद्धिरप्रभावो भवति ॥"[43] "प्रज्ञाशास्त्रचक्षुर्हि राजाऽल्पेनापि प्रयत्ने मन्त्रमाधातुं शक्तः परानुत्साहप्रभाववतश्च सामादिभिर्योगोपनिषद्भ्यां चातिसन्धातुम् ॥"[44] such and other illustrations inspiring the mind of Śūdraka while writing drama "*Mṛcchakaṭikaṃ*".

Pālaka has been illustrated as void of any power of counsel as well that of physical valour in so far as a parasite to a sycophant taking to righteous-conduct i.e. (Śakāra) he took to invidious means of oppressing subjects (*Prakṛtayaḥ*) who took him to be an unjust monarch or a des (*anyāyavṛtti*) and let him down to a doom of the desired nature. Amarasi in *Amarakośa* also goes to corroborate our point that *Prakṛti* 'in' *Gopāla Prak* "should mean" "Son of Gopāla" i.e. Gopālaka i.e. Āryaka.

"क्षेत्रज्ञः आत्मा पुरुषः प्रधानं प्रकृतिः स्त्रियाम् ॥"[45]

Here "*ātmā*" denotes soul or self born of Gopāla or Gopālaka. R. S. Tripathi also takes '*Prakṛti*' to mean "*Karaṇam*"-'*Janakaḥ*' *iti*[46] however, takes 'Gopālaḥ' to mean '*ābhīraḥ*' which does not seem to be cor being conventional in interpretation. Dr. G. V. Devasthali[47] dates Śūdraka than Bhāsa and not much earlier than the beginning of the Christian Era far as he has referred to *Manu*[48] in

"अयं हि पातकी विप्रो न वध्यो मनुरब्रवीत् ।
राष्ट्रादस्मात्तु निर्वास्यो विभवैरक्षतैः सह ॥"

This concurs with our view in placing Bhāsa as anterior to Kauṭily Śūdraka as posterior to him. Dr. G. V. Devasthali even goes to the exte deeming the fact that Śūdraka drew his material for the play (*Mṛcchakaṭi* from *Bṛhatkathā* (of Guṇāḍhya) which forms the basis of the *Kathāsarit* itself. This also corroborates our point that Śūdraka succeeded Guṇāḍhya Bhāsa preceded him. We have already quoted Dr. V. R. R. Dīkṣitāra who established Bhāsa as a predecessor of Kauṭilya.[50] Dr. R. P. Kangle says "There is no convincing reason why this work (i.e. the *Arthaśāstra* of Ka should not be regarded as the work of Kauṭilya, who helped Candrag come to power in Magadha."[51] Even Dr. D. S. Trivedi[52] has placed Cā

43 *Ibid.* IX.1.11, p. 217.
44 *Ibid.*, IX.1-15, p. 217.
45 Nārāyaṇa Rāmācārya Kāvyatīrtha, *Amarakośa* 272, Nirṇayasāgara Press;
46 *Mṛcchakaṭikam* (Hindi ed.) with Sanskrit commentary, Messrs Moti Lal Ban p. 448.
47 *Introduction to the Study of Mṛcchakaṭikam*, Ch. I, pp. 6-8.
48 Kale, M. R. *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, IX.39, p. 348.
49 *Introduction to the Study of Mṛcchakaṭikam*, p. 5.
50 See 3 above.
51 Kangle, R. P. *Kaś* Part III, Ch IV, p. 106.
52 *Indian Chronology*, p. 18.

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thaśāstra in line with the epoch of Candragupta Maurya who reigned from 321 C. to 297 B.C. according to Dr. R. S. Tripathi.[53] This also synchronizes with e date of Kauṭilya which may be the fourth century B.C. in its entirety because uṭilya was a pretty grown up guy eliciting the veneration of the King among servants vying with whom (Subandhu) he averred to wreak vengeance on the nda King (Yogānanda) at the instigation of Śakaṭāla ".[54] *Mudrārākṣasa* of ākhadatta equally substantiates this point which states that Cāṇakya after verting the invidious moves of the enemy Rākṣasa (the deposed Prime ister of the Nandas) handed over the Sword of honour already wielded by to the latter.[55]

n Prof. Kangle says—

" The view that Kauṭilya continued as a minister even under Bindusāra, appears in any case, to be hardly plausible ".[56]

these facts go a step better in deciding the point that Guṇāḍhya and Śūdraka ht have been senior and elder contemporaries succeeding Kauṭilya or might flourished contemporaneously in different regions, Guṇāḍhya in Pothra ge situated on a small river of the same name which joins Wunnā in Supra- a āhāra,[57] and Śūdraka in Ujjayinī most probably being a nearest kin to ka notwithstanding the introductory verses of the drama which seem to be ous with Kauṭilya preceding them a little.

History of Ancient India, Ch. VIII, p 149-159.

KSS I.5 Verses 115, 116, p. 14.

भोः विष्णुगुप्त ! मा मैवम् । अयोग्याः वयमस्य विशेषतस्त्वया गृहीतस्य ग्रहणे ।

Mudrārākṣasa, Deshpande, R. R. Act VII, p. 215.

and *ibid.*, p. 217, Verse 16.

शस्त्रं मित्रशरीररक्षणकृते —

व्यापारणीयं मया

Kangle, R. P. *KAS* Part III, p. 109.

Mirashi, V.V. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 69.

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'ANABHIHITE' IN PĀṆINI : A KEY-NOTE TO SYNTAX

By

MAHAVIR*

The later grammatical tradition and modern pedagogy of Pāṇini holds him merely/mainly as a word-(*pada*) grammarian and not as a sentence (*vākya*) grammarian. My studies in Pāṇini totally rebut this view generally held by readers of Pāṇini. Merely a glimpse of syntax in Pāṇini is presented here on the basis of analysis of Pāṇinian *Sūtra*, '*anabhihite*' II.3.1. of his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

'*Anabhihite*' (II.3.1) in Pāṇini is a midway notion. It's explanation needs the treatment of some other basic concepts in Pāṇini as follows :—

I. 1 *Samartha theory :*

The Pāṇinian aphorism '*samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*' (II.1.1) is a metarule (*paribhāṣā*) concerning the whole *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and applicable to each and every word—(*pada*) formation. The metarule is the fundamental concept in Pāṇini but almost neglected in practice especially by neo-grammarians.

According to the *paribhāṣā* no morphological construction can take place if the word subject to the grammatical operation is not *samartha*. The word under construction can realise the grammatical injunction only if and when it is '*samartha.*' '*Samartha,*' therefore, is the sole under-current dictum enablin the words to undergo the grammatical operation, in the absence of which not single aphorism of Pāṇini in this regard is possible to be applied for w d-fo a- tion. It may be mentioned that even where the syntactic terms like *Sa ṣa, yoga* etc. are used in the *sūtras*, the metarule II.1.1., being inevitable, is applicable even to those *sūtras*.

1.2 *Import of Samartha :*

The import of *samartha* is thread-barely discussed in the *mahābhāṣya*. 'One semantical unit' *ekārthhībhava* is recognised there as the faultless meaning of *samartha*, though *vyapekṣā* (expectancy) is also discussed there as one of it's meaning. It is evident that the import of '*samartha*' like various other Paṇinia concepts, had become vague by the time of Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣy* as. The internal evidences of Pāṇinian *Aṣṭ*. make it clear that the import of *samartha* is immediate syntactical relation or immediate constituency. The fact is also borne out by the Kā.vā, *samānādhikaraṇayuktayukteṣūpasaṁkhyānam kartavyam* on P.II.1.1. Here *yuktayukta* is necessitated by the examples like '*vṛkṣasya lambate śākhyāyām*' etc. and '*śālīnām ta odanam dāsyāmi*' etc. where accentless-

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the in place of '*tubhyam*' following the *pada* '*śālīnām*' is available by P.VIII.1.8[1] and VIII.1.22[2] if the *pada*s subject to enjoinment are *samartha*. Though the words *lambate* and *tubhyam* are syntactically related to *vṛkṣasya* and *śālīnām* respectively, their relation is not immediate one but through other words i.e. *śākhāyām* and *odanam*, hence no *sāmarthya* and hence the vā. *yukta-yukteṣūpasaṃkhyānam*.

It may be mentioned that scholars interpret *samartha* as merely syntactical relation which is difficult to maintain in the face of above-noted and other internal evidences. (vide for detail my work *Pāṇini as Grammarian*).[3]

This metarule being obligatory to each and every word-formation it makes the Pāṇinian stand clear that Pāṇinian grammar is not confined only to formations in their absolute forms but starts from and culminates into, as we shall see, the sentence-construction, though the later grammatical tradition and the pedagogy of P.I.P.I present Pāṇini only and mainly as a word—(*pada*) grammarian.

II. 1 *Kārakas :*

This *sāmarthya* (immediate syntactical relation) is expounded by Pāṇini in two ways, (1) *Kāraka*-relation (P.I.4.23-55), and (2) non-*Kāraka* relations (P.III.3.4 etc.). *Kāraka*-relation obtains between a verbal and a nominal whereas non-*Kāraka*-relation obtains between nominals only. My scope here is limited to the *Kāraka*-relation only.

Kāraka in Pāṇini is a syntactic notion expressing the relation of a nominal or nominals to a verbal in various ways. According to the Pāṇinian *Kāraka*-theory all the nominals as *Kārakas* bear the direct and immediate relation to the verbal. Hence the *Kārakas* are defined in accordance with *samartha* theory enjoined in P.II.1.1. Hence *Kārakas* are based on *samartha*-theory.

According to the *sāmarthya* (immediate syntactical relation) *Kārakas* are stated in direct and immediate relation of a nominal to a *kriyā*. Not a single

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1 Tiṅṅatiṅaḥ.

2 Temayāvekavacanasya.

3 The import of *Samartha*, is discussed in detail in my work, '*Pāṇini as Grammarian*' on pp. 18-22. However, some important points in this regard are needed to be emphasized upon here.

The *paribhāṣā* pertains only to *pada-vidhi* implying that it governs the enjoinments applicable only to *padas* and not phonological one i.e. enphonic changes. It is obvious that the *paribhāṣā* is applicable above the phonological level. Hence it covers the entire range of morphology because Pāṇini defines the *pada* two ways, (1) as finished word-forms (*sup-tiṅantam padam* P. I.4.14), and (2) as unfinished word-forms (P.I.4.15-17). It may be incidentally pointed out that the two types of definitions of the same *pada* contrasting to each other and belonging to two different grammatical levels are made for technical purpose. The different levels of linguistic items are so brought together that they share the grammatical operations thus minimizing the formation of the *sūtras*—a most welcome achievement of Pāṇinian technique.

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rule pertaining to *Kārakas* is described in absolute terms or without stating relation of a *pada* to a *Kriyā*. *Kārakas* have been well-nigh dealt with by scholars like Kiparsky and Staal, G. Cardona, J. D. Singh, S. D. Joshi, A. C. Sinha, Rocher and various others with detailed criticism and appreciation of each other.[4] At present I do not want anything to add, as *Kārakas* are not the issue of my discussion here.

III-1. *Abhihita/Anabhihita* :

Now after *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (P.II.1.1) Pāṇini has dictated that word—derivation is to be followed only when the words stand in mutual immediate syntactic relation and not isolated from syntactic structure; and the *Kārakas* have been enjoined on the basis of this notion of *sāmarthya* pervading the whole Pāṇinian grammar, then the formative elements of words are to be fixed in their proper conditional concatenation so that the derivational process may be proceeded accordingly. For this matter, the verbal injunctions stand on one, and the nominal ones on the other. Thus comes the third level of *abhihita/anabhihita* in my present scheme of representation of syntax in Pāṇini.

III-2. *Abhihita* :

Exposition of *Kārakas* directly reflecting in *la*-ending verbals, is stated in Pāṇini III 4.67-76. Among these, three *Sūtras* are the main statements i.e. *kartari kṛt* (P. III.4.47), *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ* (P. III. 4.69), and *tayoreva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ* (P. III 4.70). In these statements all the verbals and primary endings are stated either expressing *kartā* (agent) or *karma* (object) or *bhāva*. "This is the first and the direct representation of *Kārakas* on which the whole further description in this regard is based. According to these *Sūtras*, all the verbals and *kṛtya* endings *express* (*abhihita*) directly either the *Kartṛ-Kāraka* or the *Karma-Kāraka*. It may be noted that *vibhaktis* (case—endings) to be added to nominals are not described in first hand co-reference to the *Kārakas* in Pāṇini. The first hand co-reference of the *Kārakas* is made only to verbals and primary-endings in Pāṇini. The verbals and *kṛtya*-ending formations i.e. *la,kṛtya,kta* and *Khalartha*-ending formations, therefore, express or state

4 It may be pointed out here that Pāṇini takes into account the total environment for his linguistic description. His Aṣṭ. cannot be ascribed or confined to a single sort of criterion for the description. It would betray all attempts to find out a sole criterion like 'semantics', or 'ideational' or 'logical' or anything else as mentioned by scholars with regard to *Kārakas*. Pāṇini finds it insufficient and unreliable to stick to and depend upon a single means to describe the language (*bhāṣā*) exhausively accurately and efficiently. Patañjali, therefore, remarks in his Mbh. as '*sarvaveda-pāriṣadam hidam śāstram. Tatra naikaḥ panthāḥ śakya āsthātum*'. Pāṇini, therefore, exploits all the sources and means available in the world around him which can be assigned a definite role in the language-use. Concept of totality is the guiding principle in Pāṇini. There should be no scope left for doubt or controversy that 'the *Kāraka*-rules are not 'intimately related to Pāṇini's syntactic rules'. G. Cardona. 1974.

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abhihita) either the *Kartṛ-Kāraka* or the *Karma-Kāraka*. The starting point of derivational process in Pāṇini takes place with the description of verbals and primary-endings. The description of nominal case endings is made in negative term *anabhihita* with reference to such forms already expressing a particular *Kāraka* i.e. agent or object. We shall come to this point later on. Pāṇini thus regards the verbals and *kṛtya* ending verbs (as only these two are the point of our discussion here) as kernel items and nominals with case-endings as encircling items, constituting the usable linguistic unit i.e. sentence.

III-3. *Verbals and kṛtya-niṣṭha-endings focal points in derivational process :*

Since verbals, *kṛtya*-endings and *niṣṭhā*-endings are the focal items in the derivational process of syntactical constructions containing *Kāraka*-relation, Pāṇini, therefore, makes each and every statement reflecting *Kāraka* in relation to *la*-endings, *kṛtya*-endings, *niṣṭhā*-endings and formations ending in *khalarthas*[5] etc. (P.III.4.67-76). Case-endings being the aftermath derivation, are rather parapharnalia items in a sentence and hence bear a direct relation to the focal items mentioned above and not to each other except the non-*kāraka* relations. Since immediate and first hand representation of *kartā* and *karma Kāraka* is made-expressed (*abhihita*)—in the focal items, it is, therefore, possible that a sentence may contain all the *Kārakas* or various *Kārakas* simultaneously reflecting in different nominals related to the focal item in different ways. For instance in the construction '*Rāmaḥ kūpād hastena Śyāmāya pātre jalam ānayati*,' (Rāma fetches to Śyāma water in pot from the well by hand), *ānayati* obtains immediate syntactical relation (*Sāmarthya*) with all the nominals in different capacities to each one. Hence all the nominals bear direct relations represented by various *Kārakas*. They are, therefore, related to each other not directly but through the verbal '*ānayati*'. Hence within a sentence various *Sāmarthyas* can occur to form a unitary unit i.e. a sentence—simple or complex one. One *sāmarthya*, therefore, can be said a minimum unit of a sentence or *Vākya*. A sentence can contain more than one *sāmarthyas* as illustrated above.

III-4. *Padas set in syntactic structure :*

Thus it is obvious that Pāṇini starts his description with the sentence as a pragmatic unit. Sentence in terms of *samartha* is the basic unit and forms the basis of Pāṇinian description. Individual words (*padas*) in their absolute forms have no existence in the language according to Pāṇinian linguistic theory. The lonely *padas* isolated from their syntactic structure cannot be derived in Pāṇinian system. First of all the *padas* will have to be set in terms of *abhihita*/*anabhihita*, in the syntactic structure as they exist. Without doing so, no *pada* can be even conceived of. It may be pointed out here that after the words

5 *Niṣṭhā*-endings i.e. forms ending in *kta* and *ktavatu* also may be included here.

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(*padas*) have been conceived of in their structural position, they transport from the sentence-boundary (*Sāmarthya*) into the word-boundary to undergo the grammatical operations aimed at only within or upon the words in their absolute forms.

It may be incidentally pointed out here in advance that ultimately the *padas* (words) again enter into the sentence-boundary i.e. *sāmarthya* to realize some leftout syntactic properties after the individual word-formation is accomplished. Thus the word-formation ultimately results into sentence-formation as we shall show later on.

The focal items expressing either *Kartā* or *Karma* appear first in derivational process, case-endings, being described in Pāṇini (P. 4.3.1-73) with reference to the *Kārakas* not already expressed by the formers i.e. focal items ending in *la* etc. appear later on. Here the same concept of *Kārakas* is used to form both the types of words i.e. verbals and nominals in sentences. Co-reference in the terms of *Kārakas* is made for the derivation of both types of words but on one hand the *Kāraka* is expressed directly, whereas on the other hand it is described in terms of *anabhihita* (un-expressed). The same *Kāraka* relates both the items but in terms of *abhihita* and *anabhihita*. Hence the governing rule *anabhihite* (P. II. 3.1) is in co-reference of *Kārakas* having first hand expression in focal items.

III-5. *Abhihita explained :*

To elucidate the application and implication of *anabhihite* (P. II. 3.1) it is inevitable to discuss in more details what is *abhihita*, as the notion of *anabhihita* is derived from and hence related to the notion of *abhihita*, though Pāṇini has not verbally used this term. We have already stated that all the *Kākaras* express either *Kartā* or *Karma* by P. III 4.69,[6] and the forms ending in *Ktavatu* express only *Kartā* (P. III. 4.67).[7] But as an exception to it, the forms ending in *Kṛtya*, *Kta* and *Khalartha* affixes express either *Karma*, *Kāraka* or *bhāva* by P. III. 4.70.[8] It is clear here that the verbs in tenses and moods express either *Kartā* or *Karma*. This is called *abhihita* i.e. the expression of *Kartā* or *Karma Kāraka* by above-mentioned affixes and is termed as *abhihita* from which is derived and to which is related the term *anabhihita* in P.II.3.1.

The realization of *vibhaktis* in the *prātipadikas* has to be made in relation to the *Kārakas* expressed already by the aforesaid affixes. But it has to be done so in terms of the *Kārakas* other than the already expressed ones. Hence the derivational process has first to start from the focal items i.e. forms ending in *la*,

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6 *Laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ.*

7 *Kartari kṛt.*

8 *Tayoreva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ.* There are a few exceptions to it and the former rule also, vide P. III.4.71-76 and P. III.4.68.

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or *Kṛtya* or *niṣṭhā* etc. which express the *Kāraka* (agent or object). It may be noted that this expression either of *Kartā* or *Karma* by *la* etc. solely depends on the desire (*vivakṣā*) of the speaker as Pāṇini has stated no rule in this regard. It is so because the language use basically depends upon the desire of the speaker which way he wants to use it. But while once the basic desire of the speaker in this regard is determined, then the grammatical process starts and the linguistic items undergo operations till complete syntactic derivation is exhausted.

Thus the *Kārakas* expressed by *la* etc. in verbals etc. on one hand and the *Kārakas* other than expressed ones, resulting in nominals on the other hand, work together in relation to each other. Pāṇini has exploited the notion of *abhihita* both ways, positively[9] and negatively, to cover up verbals and nominals related in one syntactic unit. Both the notions of *abhihita*[10] and *anabhihita* are put together at work on both sides simultaneously and thus giving rise to verbals and nominals forming the whole sentence and not only a single word (*pada*).

III.6. *Anabhihita as residual :*

It may be again pointed out that in this reciprocal procedure of sentence-derivation, the notion of *abhihita* is basic which relates to the verbals and primary-affixes, while the notion of *anabhihita* is as residual of it to cover up the representation of the *Kārakas* left out of the former. Thus case-endings are derived or described in relation to the focal items to give representation to the *Kārakas* not represented by the former.

III.7. *Dichotomy of abhihita/anabhihita :*

This dichotomy of *abhihita* and *anabhihita* represents two aspects. *Abhihita* aspect basically represents verbs to be used in the sentence. These verbs represent either *Kartā* or *Karma* and the same *Kartā* or *Karma* which these verbs express is used as nominal also. This nominal being actual *kartā* or *karma* already expressed by endings in verbs, always takes 1st case ending (*prathamā vibhakti*) by P.II.3.46 since this rule is applicable to *abhihita* aspect which can be both, *kartā* and *karma* as well. Hence 1st case ending in this rule is stated not in terms of any *kāraka* but in the terms of *prātipadika* etc. It is also worth mentioning that *anabhihita* does not recur here.

IV.1. *Implication of the above analysis :*

Now we shall demonstrate the derivational process in Pāṇini which starts from the sentence and results in sentence-formation, word-formation only being its intermediatory stage.

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9 *Prātipadikārtha-liṅga-parimāṇa-vacanamātre prathamā*. P. II.3.46.

10 Patañjali in his Mbh. though states *prathamā* in *abhihita* but leaves the scope for discrepancy by not qualifying *abhihite* by *kartari* and *karmaṇi*. vide Mbh.on P.II.3.46 '*athavābhihite prathametyetal lakṣaṇam Kariṣyete*'.

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The main operational boundaries/areas in Pāṇinian grammar may be said as two (1) *Samartha* (sentence) boundary, (2) *pada* (word) boundary. These two boundaries may be divided again into five levels according to grammatical description of the language in Pāṇini, as follows :—

1	Sentence boundary	1.	*Samartha*-level
		2.	*Kāraka*-level based on *samartha* theory
		3.	Representation of *Kārakas* in verbals and nominals in terms of *abhihita* and *anabhihita*. (Pāṇini himself has not used the term *abhihita*).
2	Word (*pada*) boundary	4.	Word (*pada*) formation (*pada-vidhi*) It includes word-phonology also).
3	Sentence boundary (*vākya*)	5.	(a) *Saṁhitā* (euphonic changes, sentence phonology).
			(b) Syntactic accent
			(c) *Pluta*

(Accomplished word-formation culminating into sentence—construction).

Here the first three levels are workable in sentence-boundary or *sāmarthya*. As a matter of fact, *samartha* is a theoretical or conceptual level. The 4th level works only within individual words caused by or based on the criterion of the first three levels. This 4th level may again be sub-divided into following grammatical catagories :—

(a) *dhātu* and *prātipadika* level

(b) *pratyaya*-level

(c) *aṅga*-level

(substitute and augments may be regarded as the parts of the either of these).

The 5th level works after the individual word-formation is accomplished. Here this last level again enters into the jurisdiction of *samartha* and *vākya*-boundary, thus resulting into sentence—construction. Here another phonological level may be subsumed which works in both of the boundaries i.e. word-boundary and sentence-boundary as well. The grammatical items to the individual linguistic primes are fixed on the basis of *abhihita/anabhihita*, ultimately depending on their *sāmarthya* reflected through *Kārakas* in a sentence. After the fixation of linguistic elements thus brought forth, the grammatical operation applicable to them takes place to give rise to *padas*. But again some syntactic features like euphonic change (P. VIII. 2.), accentlessnes (P. VIII. 1.18) and *pluta* (P. VIII. 2.82) are left out to be accounted for. For that matter, the finished forms of *padas* again enter into sentence-boundary to undergo the grammatical operation and thus are introduced to the *padas* the syntactic properties under the governing terms like *saṃhitāyām* (P. VIII. 2. 108) *samarthaḥ* (P. II. 1.1) *padasya* (P. VIII. 1.16), *padāt* (P. VIII. 1.17) and *vākyasya* (P. VIII. 2.81) etc.

Our hitherto analysis can be presented by a model as follows :—

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Model No. 1.

1. *Samartha*	Phase I Sentence boundary (*Samartha*).
2. *Kāraka*	
3. *abhihita, Kāraka-la* etc. *anabhihita*	
4. *Vibhaktis, tiṅ*/etc.	Phase II Word boundary *pada*-formation.
5. *Samartha* 1. Syntactic accent (*anudātta*) 2. *Pluta* of syntactic penultimate 3. Optional euphonic changes in the same sentence or different sentences.	Phase III *Vākya*.

In the light of this model we shall proceed further, mainly concentrating ourselves upon the level 3-*abhihita/anabhihita*.

IV-2. *Process :*

As already said the immediate and first-hand representation of *Kārakas* manifests in *la*-endings and *kṛt* endings in Pāṇini (P.III.4.67-76). Here we shall take into our consideration only *la*-endings, *kṛtya*-endings and *niṣṭhā*-endings. Among these also we shall take up only *la*-endings only in expressing either *Kartā* or *Karma Kāraka* only representing rest of the endings.

Now, basically it is the will of the speaker to determine whether he wants to express *kartā* (active voice) or *karma* (possive voice). It also may be mentioned that upto the point of *la* etc. to be added to a *dhātu* to express either agent (active voice) or object (passive voice) is a mental process. Hitherto the whole process concerns with choosing the kernel linguistic items. Hereaftar the other linguistic formative elements to be added to the kernal items, shall have to be brought by the force of grammatical rules. No discretion of the speaker works hereafter. It may be thus summed-up that hitherto the process is called *Buddhistha* (mental), hereafter the *śāstrastha* (grammatical) one and finally the resultant sentence formation is called *prayogastha* (pragmatic) one.

IV-3. *Derivational process :*

To illustrate the derivational process in Pāṇini, it is the sentence and not a single word which is finally derived. The derivational process in Pāṇini starts with the notion of *abhihita/anabhihita*. Word-derivation in Pāṇinian system is linked with the sentence-derivation. Word-derivation takes place within sentence-derivation.

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IV-4. *Ist chain of abhihita :*

To illustrate the 1st chain of derivation, it is reciprocal process of derivation only among the focal items and the actual *Kāraka* expressed by the endings. We shall take up the example of verbals only.

Suppose the speaker choses to use *Paṭh* in present tense. He will have to add *laṭ* to it by P. III. 2-123.[11] After deleting *ṭ* (P. I. 3.3)[12] it will have to be determined that whether *la* is desired to express *kartā* or *karma*. Suppose one wants to use *la* to express *kartṛ-Kāraka* (active voice) then the *la* representing *kartā* will demand the presence of actual *kartā* by force of (*Sāmarthya* P. II. 1.1) By *Kāraka* rule (P. I. 4. 54)[13] some *kartā* will have to be visualized. Suppose it is Rāma intended to be used as *Kartā*. Then Rāma as a nominal stem has to be placed there. It may be again noted here that this is the minimal unit of sentence in Pāṇini. While the *kriyā* is wished to be used, then it would certainly demand to use *kartā* or *karma* whomsoever its ending *la* etc. expresses. Both of the linguistic items i.e. *kriyā* in the form of *dhātu* and the *kartā*/*karma* in form ot nominal stem are indispensable to be placed side by side for further derivational process in Pāṇini. The placement of Rāma as *kartā* causes the further derivational process of *Paṭh*+*la* as substitute of *la* by P. III. 4.78[14] in terms of *tip tas jhi* etc. It cannot take place until and unless the *parasmaipada* class by P. I. 3.78,[15] the *puruṣa* (person) by P. I. 4.101,[16] and the *vacana* (number) by P. I. 4.102[17] of the substitute are decided. And this decision ultimately depends on the decision of the *puruṣa* (person) of the actual *kartā* (agent) Rāma by P. I. 4.108,[18] the *vacana* (member) of the actual *kartā* Rāma by P. I. 4.22,[19] Rāma being related to the *la*-ending as *upapada* and *samānādhikaraṇa*—an inevitable condition for the substitute of *la*. Hence the presence of Rāma as *Kartā* in derivational process is a must here, though it is immaterial whether or not Rāma is used (*Sthāninyapi*) in the pragmatic sentence. It is always implied even without it's use. After recognizing *prathama puruṣa* (3rd person) and *ekavacana* (Sing. No.) of the *Kartā* Rāma, the substitute *tip* belonging to the same person and number of the *parasmaipada* class will replace *la*. Here expression of *kartā* in *la* also results, apart from deciding the *parasmaipada* (or *ātmanepada*) class, in addition to *Śap* infix by P. III. 1.68.[20] The *Kartā* being expressed (*abhihita*) by *la* here affects

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11 *Vartamāne* laṭ.
12 Halantyam.
13 *Svatantraḥ kartā.*
14 *Lasya.*
15 *Śeṣāt kartari parasmaipadam.*
16 *Tiṅastriṇi triṇi prathama-madhyamottamāḥ.*
17 *Tānyekavacana-dvivacana-bahuvacanānyekaśaḥ.*
18 *Śeṣe prathamaḥ.*
19 *Dvyekayordvivacanaikavacane.*
20 *Kartari śap.*

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the derivational process double-way in Pāṇini, (1) it causes to determine the *ātmanepada* (P. I. 3.12)[21] or *parasmaipada* (P. I. 3.78-66)[22] nature of the affixes to be added to *dhātu* and addition of infixes (*vikaraṇa*) like *Śap* etc. (P. III. 1.68-66)[23] and (2) it causes the placement of *Kartā* as *samānādhikaraṇa upapada* which in return, causes to determine the affixes of the same person and number to replace *la* added to *dhātu*. Thus the notion of *abhihita* in Pāṇini works at both the points, verbals as well as nominals. This is one chain of derivational process in Pāṇini.

IV-5. *IInd chain of Abhihita/Anabhihita in nominals :*

The other chain of grammatical action in this process works the other way round i.e. *anabhihita* side of it.

As the *Kārakas* immediately and directly reflect in *la* etc. in verbals in the positive sense of *abhihita*, they reflect in nominals through *vibhaktis* in negative term *anabhihita* to present the *Kārakas* other than the one already expressed by *la* etc. as we have shown earlier. Since the *Kartā* is expressed by *la*, here added to *dhātu*, all the other *Kārakas* remain unexpressed (*anabhihita*) so far. The nominal *Kartā* i.e. Rāma being expressed (*abhihita*) by *la* will not take *tṛtīyā* (3rd case ending) by P. II. 3.18,[24] which is applicable only when *Kartā* is *anabhihita* (unexpressed) by *la*. So there is no other alternative except adding the 1st case-ending (*prathamā*) by P. II. 3.46.[25] The number (*Vacana*) of the 1st case-ending (*prathamā*) here will be according to that of the *Kartā*, Rāma.

IV-6. *Abhihita/Anabhihita, positive/negative :*

The notion of *abhihita* in Pāṇini is made to serve both ways, positive and negative. It works on positive line in verbals etc. whereas on negative line in nominals in the same sentence, except the nominals expressed by *la* etc. In positive sense it causes to determine the linguistic/grammatical items to be added to *dhātu* for its derivation, whereas in negative sense it causes to determine the *vibhaktis* (case-endings) to be added to nominals. While either of the *Kārakas* i.e. *Kartā* or *Karma* has been represented and expressed by the verbal affix added to the *dhātu*, the scope for representation and expression of the other *Kārakas* is left out in relation to the former in the same sentence. *Anabhihita* thus outlines and demarcates the area of the *Kārakas* through *vibhaktis* in nominals, which remain unexpressed/unrepresented in verbals in the same sentence. Pāṇini, therefore, before stating the *vibhakti* rules, states the governing rule '*anabhihite*' (P. II. 3.1) 'The following statements would be governed by *anabhihita* (not

21 *Anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam.ff.*

22 *Śeṣāt kartari parasmaipadam.ff.*

23 *Kartari śap.ff.*

24 *Kartṛkaraṇayostṛtīyā.*

25 *Prātipadikārtha-liṅga-parimāṇa-vacana-mātre prathamā.*

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expressed)'. Thus *anabhihita* is not an absolute term. It's application and implication is in a relative term presupposing *abhihita*, compounded as *na abhihitam anabhihitam*. The *abhihita* (expression) of *Kārakas* in verbals is either that of *Kartā* or *Karma*, the other *Kārakas* therefore, remain *anabhihita* (unexpressed). That is the area for operation of the term *anabhihita*. Thus the derivational process at sentence-level which is the basis of derivation in Pāṇini is not one way, it is rather a double-way traffic, a reciprocal process, basically linked to verbal derivation on one hand and nominal derivation on the other hand. Thus *Kārakas* in Pāṇini first reflect in verbals etc. and thereafter in nominals as residual. The dichotomy of *abhihita* and *anabhihita* based on the same notion of *Kāraka*-theory is used to state the derivational rules pertaining to one and the same sentence in Pāṇini. The *vibhaktis* enjoined in the jurisdiction of P. II. 3.1 (*anabhihita*) are thus added to nominals to express the other respective *Kārakas* which have not already been expressed by the verbals related to the former. Expression of *Kārakas* by verbal affixes *la* etc. is thus made the central point to give boost to start the sentence-derivation. On one hand it causes to present the nominal stem as the actual *Kāraka* which the verbal affix expresses, whereas on the other hand it is made to leave the scope for expression of other *Kārakas* through *vibhaktis* to be added to nominal roots (*prātipadikas*) to be used in relation of the verbal in the same sentence. This dichotomy of *abhihita/anabhihita* is the second chain of operation in Pāṇinian derivation of the sentence, the first chain being the *abhihita* itself as already explained.

V-I *Implication in active voice :*

The verbal form along with the *Kartṛ-Kāraka* expressed by verbal affix *la* is the minimum unit of sentence in Pāṇini. The sentence may be enlarged by adding other unexpressed *Kārakas* as presented by the *Kāraka* rules in P. I. 4.23-55. For instance if one chose to use the object (*Karma*) here then he will have to select the object item viz. *Veda*, to add here. Now this *veda* will bear to *paṭa* the direct relation of *Karma-Kāraka* by P. I. 4.49.[26] Since *Kartā* is expressed by *la* here, the *karma* remains unexpressed (*anabhihita*). Hence the IInd case ending (*dvitīyā*) in sing. no. *am* (according to the no. of *Karma veda*) will be added to *veda* by P. II. 3.2.[27] The sentence may be enlarged by adding respective *vibhaktis* for the other *Kārakas* also on the basis of *anabhihita*.

A graphic view of its implications can be presented by the following model

26 *Karturīpsita-tamam karma.*

27 *Karmaṇi dvitīyā.*

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Model No. II (Active Voice)

1. Mental process (*Vivakṣā*) — Phase-I (Sentence-boundary)

Rāma + *Kartā* + */paṭh* + Present + *Veda* + *Karma*
(*Kartṛ*)
| | |

2. (a) Grammatical Process — *Rāma* + *Kartā* + *paṭh* + *laṭ Kartṛ* + *Veda* + *Karma*
(*abhihita*) — (*abhihita*) — (anabhithia)

Rules pertaining to syntactic relation. | — */paṭh* + *parasmaipada* *prathamapuruṣa* *ekavacana* | |

Rāma + *prathamā* *ekavacana* |

Veda + *dvitīyā* *ekavacana*

Phase-II (word-boundary)

2. (b) Grammatical Process. *Rāma* + *Su* */paṭh* + *tip* *Veda* + *am*
Rāma + *Su* */paṭh* + *Śap* + *tip* *Vedam*

Rules pertaining to word-formations. | | |
Rāma + : */paṭh* + *a* + *ti* *Vedam*
| | |
Ramaḥ *paṭhati* *Vedam*

Phase-III (sentence-boundary)

2. (c) Grammatical Process. *Rāmáḥ* + *paṭháti* + *Vedam*

Rules pertaining to syntactic accent and *Pluta*. *Rámáḥ* + *páṭhati* + *Vedam*

Optional euphonic changes. (Syntactic relation not compulsory). *Rāmáḥ paṭhati Vedam*

(Resultant sentence)

Phase III is detailed next.

V-2. *Implication in Passive Voice.*

Let us take up another example when one wants to express the *Karma* by *la* i.e. Passive Voice. First follows the model in this regard as below :—

Model No. III (Passive Voice)

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Phase—I (Sentence-boundary)

1. Mental Process (*Vivakṣā*) — *Rāma* + *Kartā* + *paṭh* + present + *Veda* + *Karma*
Karma expressed

2(a) Grammatical process — *Rāma* + *Kartā* + *pāṭh* + *laṭ* *Karma* + *Veda* + *Karma*
(*anabhihita*) (*abhihita*) (*abhihita*)

Rules pertaining to syntax — *paṭh* + *prathama puruṣa*
ekavacana
atmanepada

Rāma + *Tṛtīyā* + *Paṭh* + *Pra. Pu.* + *Veda* + *Prathmā*
ekava.
ātmanepada *Ekavacana*

Phase—II (Word—Boundary)

2(b) Grammatical Process. — *Rāma* + *ṭā* | *Paṭha* + *ta* | *Veda* + *su*

Rules pertaining to word-formation. — *Rāma* + *ena* | *paṭh* + *Yak* + *ta* | *Veda* + *ru*
Rāmeṇa | *Paṭh* + *ya* + *te* | *Veda* + *ḥ*
Rāmeṇa | *Paṭhyate* | *Vedaḥ*
Rāmeṇa | *Paṭhyate* | *Vedaḥ*

Phase—III (Sentence—Boundary)

2(c) Grammatical Process. — *Rāméṇa* + *Paṭhyaté* + *Vedáḥ*

Rules pertaining to syntactic accent & *pluta*. (optional euphonic changes.

Syntactic relation not compulsory) — *Raméṇa* *Paṭhyāté* *Vedáḥ*

(Resultant Sentence)

To explain the above model, when the *la* added to *paṭh* is labelled a expressing (*abhihita*) *Karma Kāraka*, it would necessitate the presence of *Karm* as its *samānādhikaraṇa upapada* by force of *sāmarthya*. Untill and unless t actual *Karma* is presented, no further grammatical operation in verbal derivati

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is possible because the further replacement of *la* by verbal ending *la* etc. depends on it's *samānādhikaraṇa upapada i.e. Karma.* Since *la* here expresses *Karma*, so *ātmanepada* class of verbal endings would be available by P.I. 3.13 When *Karma* i.e. *Veda* is presented, then accordingly 3rd person (*prathama puruṣa*) in sing. no, (*eka-vacana*) of verbal endings of *ātmanepada* class would be replica of *la* by P.I. 4.108,[29] *Yak* would be infixed before *ta* by P.III. 1.67,[30] because *ta* is *sārvadhātuka* and expresses *Karma* being replica of *la* by P.I.56. Since *la* expresses *Karma*, 2nd case ending (*dvitīyā*) to *veda* by P.II 3.2[32] is out of question because it is applicable only when *Karma* is not expressed. So by P.II.3.46,[33] *prathamā* (Ist case ending) in *ekavacana* (sing. no.) i.e. *Su* is available to the object *veda*. But what about the *Kartā* Rāma ? Since *Karma* is expressed by *la* here, all other *Kārakas* including *Kartā* remain unexpressed (*anabhihita*) hence 3rd case ending (*tṛtīyā*) in sing. no. (*Ekavacana*) i.e. *ṭā* would be added to Rama by *Kartṛ-Karaṇayos tṛtīyā* (P.II.3.18) *tṛtīyā* (3rd case ending) should be added to express *Kartā* (agent) and *Karaṇa* (instrument) if not expressed otherwise'. It may be noted here that person (*puruṣa*) and number (*vacana*) of verbal formation here totally depend on *Karma*—veda, as these were dependent on those of *Kartā* i.e. Rāma in the former case of active voice. This peculiarity of syntactic structure caused by the active and passive voice where *Kartā* and *Karma* are respectively expressed, basically reflects in verbal affixes and then affects the nominal derivation in Pāṇini. These peculiarities may be explicity exhibited by the following sentences as an implication of *anabhihita* in Pāṇini :—

I—*Active Voice.*

(3rd person Singular No.)	1.	Rāmaḥ paṭhati vedam, Rāmaḥ paṭhati vedau, Rāmaḥ paṭhati vedān.
(,, ,, dual No.)	2.	Rāmau paṭhataḥ Vedam, Rāmau paṭhataḥ vedau, Ramau paṭhataḥ vedān.
(,, ,, plural ,,)	3.	Rāmāḥ paṭhanti vedām, Rāmāḥ paṭhanti vedau, Rāmāḥ paṭhanti vedān.
2nd person Singular No.	1.	Tvam paṭhasi vedam, tvam paṭhasi vedau, tvam paṭhasi vedān.
,, ,, dual No.	2.	yuvām paṭhathaḥ vedam, yuvām paṭhathaḥ vedau, yuvām paṭhathaḥ vedān.
,, ,, plural No.	3.	yūyam paṭhatha vedam, yūyam paṭhatha vedau, yūyam paṭhatha vedān.

28 *Bhāvakarmaṇoḥ.*
29 *Śeṣe prathamaḥ.*
30 *Sārvadhātuke yak.*
31 *Sthānivadādeśo'nalvidhau.*
32 *Karmaṇi dvitīyā.*
33 *Prātipadikārthaga-liṅga-parimāṇa-vacana mātre prathmā.*

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1st person singular N0. 1. aham paṭhāmi vedam, aham paṭhāmi veda aham paṭhāmi vedān.

„ „ dual No. 2. āvām paṭhāvaḥ vedām, āvām paṭhāvaḥ veda āvām paṭhāvaḥ vedān.

„ „ plural No. 3. vayam paṭhāmaḥ vedam,vayam paṭhāmaḥ veda vayam paṭhāmaḥ vedān.

It is evident here that the person and number of the verbal form in activ voice (when *kartā* is *abhihita*) is always in accordance with those of the actua *Kartā* (agent).

Now let us illustrate the passive voice as follows where *Karma* is *abhihita*

II– *Passive Voice :*

3rd person sing. No. 1. Rāmeṇa paṭhyate vedaḥ, Rāmābhyām paṭhyate vedaḥ, Rāmaiḥ paṭhyate vedaḥ.

„ „ dual No. 2. Rāmeṇa paṭhyete vedau, Rāmābhyām paṭhyete vedau, Ramaiḥ pathyete vedau.

„ „ plural No. 3. Rāmeṇa paṭhyante vedāḥ, Rāmābhyām paṭhyante vedāḥ, Ramaiḥ paṭhyante vedāḥ.

„ „ sing. No. 1. tvayā paṭhayte vedaḥ, yuvābhyām paṭhyate vedaḥ, yuṣmābhiḥ paṭhyate vedaḥ.

„ „ dual No. 2. tvayā paṭhyete vedau, yuvābhyām paṭhyete vedau, yuṣmābhiḥ paṭhyete vedau.

„ „ plural No. 3. tvayā paṭhayante vedāḥ, Yuvābhyām paṭhyante vedāḥ, Yuṣmābhiḥ paṭhyante vedāḥ.

„ „ sing. No. 1. mayā paṭhyate vedaḥ, āvābhyām paṭhayate vedaḥ, asmābhiḥ paṭhyate vedaḥ.

„ „ dual No. 2. mayā pathyete vedau, āvābhyām paṭhyete vedau, asmābhiḥ pathyete vedau.

„ „ plural No. 3. mayā paṭhyante vedāḥ, āvābhyām paṭhyante vedāḥ, asmābhiḥ paṭhyante vedāḥ.

As contrast to these we can consider the following ones :

Madhyama Pu. ekavacana

IInd person sing. No. 1. Rāmeṇa stūyase tvam, Rāmābhyām stūyase tvam, Rāmaiḥ stūyase tvam.

IInd person dual No. 2. Rāmeṇa stūyethe yuvām, Rāmābhyām stūyethe yuvāṁ, Ramaih stūyethe yuvām.

IInd person plural No. 3. Rāmeṇa stūyadhve yūyam, Rāmābhyām stūyadhve yūvaṃ, Rāmaiḥ stūyadhve yūyam.

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Uttama Pu. ekavacana

Ist person sing. No.	1. Rāmeṇa stūye aham, Rāmābhyām stūye aham, Rāmaiḥ stūye aham.
Ist person dual No.	2. Rāmeṇa stūyāvahe āvām, Rāmābhāyam stūyāvahe āvām, Rāmaiḥ stūyāvahe āvām.
Ist person plural No.	3. Rāmeṇa stūyāmahe vayam, Rāmābhyām stūyāmahevayam, Rāmaiḥ stūyāmahe vayam.

It is evident without any explanation that the person and member in verbals are introduced according to those of *Karma* which is expressed (*abhihita*) by *la*. Hence the dichotomy of *abhihita* and *anabhihita* in Pāṇini. Thus '*anabhihite*' plays the role for introduction of *vibhaktis* (case endings) to nominals here, as explained already.[34]

Other forms ending in *Kta, Ktavatu, Kṛtyas* or alike affixes expressing either *Kartā* or *Karma* may be explained likewise.

We have illustrated the derivation of simple constructions of sentences. Complex sentences also may be derived likewise by adding the other related linguistic/grammatical items as prescribed in Pāṇinian rules.

Here ends the sentence boundary with the note of *abhihita* and *anabhihita*.

I. 1 *Word-boundary in Pāṇini.*

As a result of *abhihita/anabhihita* the next two levels in my present scheme of Pāṇinian presentation are necessary to be dealt with, though very briefly

Hereafter the constituents of the sentence enter into word boundary for their individual *pada*-formation. The words here realize grammatical operation within their own limit and result into accomplished word-forms. This part is shown in our above model No. 1 as phase II, level-4. This part well known as word-derivation needs no more detail.

VII. 1. *Sentence-construction—the last round of derivational Process in Pāṇini*

After the derivational process of individual *padas* (words) is exhausted in these respective blocks in word-boundary, the accomplished words again have to assume their original position in syntactic features. Hitherto some syntactic features are left out to be accounted for after the word-derivation is finished.

The features are such as euphonic change, though optional and also not compulsorily conditioned in the same sentence, affected by one *pada* to the other one, syntactic accentlessness and *pluta* etc. respectively described in

34 Patañjali in his *Mbh.* has enumerated the scope of *anabhihita* as '*tiṅ-kṛt-taddhita-samāsaiḥ parisaṁkhyānam kāryam*'. But I confine myself only to *tiṅ* and partly to *kṛt*. In this limited scope also I have taken up only the *Kartā* and *Karma Kāraka* being expressed by *tiṅ, kṛtya* and *niṣṭhā* affixes etc.

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P. VIII 1.18[35] onward, and P. VIII.2.82[36] onward. To realize these features the words already accomplished again enter into sentence-boundary and yet undergo grammatical operations. Among the features mentioned above, euphonic change can take place even among two words bearing no *sāmarthya* to each other i.e. belonging to two different sentences; viz. *ayam daṇḍo harānena*. Patanjali therefore quotes counter examples of *padavidhiḥ* in P.II.1.1. as *padavidhau Samarthādhikāraḥ Kariyate, varṇāśraye śāstre ānantarya-mātre kāryam yathā vijñāyate tiṣṭhatudadhyaśāna tvam śākena, Tiṣṭhtu kumārī cchatram hara Devadatteti.* Hence euphonic change in one *Tiṣṭ* word caused by another one is excluded from the operational area of *samartha*. The other features mentioned above are accounted for under the application of metarule P.II.1.1. (*Samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*).

Because *samartha* is not co-inciding with *vākya* in all respect and also because *samartha* is not a linguistic item but a linguistic concept, some linguistic features again remain uncovered by *sāmarthya*. For that purpose Pāṇini mentions *vākya* at some places viz. P.VIII 1.8 and P.VIII.2.108. Except these syntactic features which are too few to be worthy of labouring a separate theory of *vākya* for the whole *śāstra*, all other syntactic properties are covered by *samartha* theory in Pāṇini, though his vākya-theory underlies his statement (*Sūtras*) and can be reconstructed.

This is the last round of derivational process in Pāṇini. Thus the word derivation in Pāṇini ultimately results into sentence derivation. As a matter of fact, word-derivation takes place within the sentence derivation. Thus the derivational process in Pāṇini starts with the note of *samartha* and it ends into sentence construction, word (*pada*) derivation merely being an intermediatory process within the process of sentence-derivation.

This last round of derivational process in Pāṇini as shown in Phase III in our model No. 1 can be detailed as follows :

Model No. 4 (a)

Word-Boundary Phase II

	Rāmáḥ		paṭháti		Vedám
Phase– III					
Sentence-Boundary	Rāmāḥ	+	paṭháti	+	Vedam
anudātta-(Syntactic accent-lessness of verbal) by tiṅṅatiṅaḥ P. VIII. 1.28	Rāmáḥ	+	paṭhati	+	Vedám
Derived Sentence — Rámāḥ	paṭhati		Vedám		

35 *Vākyāderāmantritasyāsūyā-sammati-kopa-kutsanābhartsaneṣu.*

36 *Vākyasya ṭeḥ pluta udāttaḥ.*

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Here after word accent is fixed by respective *sūtras* in P. VI.1.155 onwards, hen *tiṅṅatiṅaḥ* (P. VIII. 1.28) introduces the syntactic accentlessness of the erbal, following the nominal conditioned in *sāmarthya.*

Model No. 4 (b)

	Phase Word-boundary					
	āyuṣmān		*e*dhi		Devádatta	initially accented
Phase—III	|					by P. VI.1. 198
Sentence	āyuṣmān	+	*e*dhi	+	Devadatta	Enclitic by P.
boundary	|				|	VIII. 1.1.9.
Pluta and	āyuṣmān	+	edhi	+	Devadatta 3	
accent by *pratyabhivāde*			|			
Śūdre P. VIII. 2.83						

Derived sentence — āyuṣmān edhi Devadatta 3.

(enclitic of *tin* (*edhi*) prohibited by P. VIII. 1.29 (*na loṭ*)

Model No. 4 (c)

i	Phase II Word-boundary				
	Rāmeṇa		paṭhyate		vedaḥ
hase III	|		|		|
Sentence—boundary *anudātta*	Rāmeṇa	+	paṭhyate	+	vedaḥ
(Syntactic accentlessness of verbal)	|		|		|
by tiṅṅatiṅaḥ P. VIII. 1.28	Rāméṇa	+	*paṭhyate*	+	vedaḥ
			|		
Derived Sentence —	Rāmeṇa		paṭhyate		vedaḥ

VII—2 *Minimal usable unit in Pāṇini :—*

It may be incidentally pointed out that the minimum derivable usable linguistic unit in Panini is such as *gacchti* or *paṭhati* etc., *paṭhyate* etc., and *vṛkṣāḥ* etc. As we have shown these are not only *padas* (words) in their absolute forms but complete sentences. The forms like *paṭhati* etc. presuppose the *kartā* like *saḥ* etc., forms like *paṭhyate* etc. presuppose the *Karma* like *vedaḥ* etc., without which no verbal can be further derived as the person and number of the verbal ending depend solely on those of *Kartā* or *Karma* whichever is expressed (*abhihita*). Pāṇini therefore applied the term *sthāninyapi* in the respective rules in P. I. 4.105-108. These first two examples represent the sentences whereby action is desired to be mainly expressed.

The 3rd example i.e. *vṛkṣaḥ* etc. represents the constructions where only the thing is intended to be expressed. In such cases also where no specific action is stated, simply its existence is implied. Otherwise the only nominal in its absolute form cannot be uttered to indicate the *prātipadikārtha* by P. II. 3.46, as nothing implied by *prātipadika* can exist in abstract. It must express its

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personal identity in form of time, person and number etc. Patañjali, therefore in his *Mahābhāṣya* says in this regard that '*asti-bhavantiparaḥ śabdaḥ prayu jyate, vṛkṣaḥ ityukte astīti gamyate*'. Even single word is used to indicate th existence. By using *vṛkṣaḥ* (tree), *asti* (the tree exists) is implied. Hence sentence is the final unit in Pāṇinian system of linguistic derivation.

Conclusion :

The notion of *anabhihita* in Pāṇini plays a grammatical role of prime signi-ficance, in between sentence boundary and *Pada*-boundary. It also proves that Pāṇinian Grammar is based on and ultimately aimed at sentence-derivation and not only word (*pada*) derivation. Interpretation of Pāṇinian grammar, therefore, extremely needs re-orientation in the original spirit of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The models, with due changes if necessary, can serve for computarization of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, provided attempted upon properly.

Works referred to :

1.	Pāṇini	*Aṣṭādhyāyī*
2.	Kātyāyana	*Vārtikas*
3.	Patañjali	*Mahābhāṣya* with Uddyota and Pradīpa coms.
4.	Bhaṭṭoji Dixit	*Siddhānta Kaumudī* with Manoramā ṭikā.
5.	Patañjali	*Mahābhāṣya* (P. 21-1-79) Ed. tra. by S. D. Joshi & J. P. F. Roodbergen
6.	Patañjali	*Critical Studies on the Mahābhāṣya* by V. P. Limaye
7.	Pāṇini	*Aṣṭādhyāyī* tra. by S. C. Vasu in Eng.
8.	Bhaṭṭoji Dixit	*Siddhānta Kaumudī* tra. by S. C. Vasu Eng.
9.	Mahavir	*Pāṇini as Grammarian*
10.	Vāmana Jayāditya	*Kāśikā* with *Nyāsa* & *Padamañjarī*.

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2.	Matilal B. K.	"Indian theorists on the nature of the sentence." *Foundation of Language* 2. 1966.
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ŚĀNTARASADHVANI IN ŚĀKUNTALAM*

By
R. T. VYAS†

The connoisseurs, especially the followers of *dhvani* theory are aware o the existence of *rasa-dhvani*. Regarding the relation of *rasa* and *dhvani*, it said that *dhvani* is the quintessence of poetry and *rasa* is the quintessenc of *dhvani*; and regarding the nature of *dhvani* it is said: "*Dhvani* is a exclusively poetic feature concerned with exploiting the beauty of every elemer in the medium of language like *alaṅkāra*, *guṇa* and *rīti* to serve the ultimat artistic end of *rasa*. In other words, *dhvani* is the name of the whole poeti process itself which is usually rendered as suggestion".[1]

Among the three categories of *dhvani*, viz. *vastudhvani*, *alaṅkāradhvani* an *rasadhvani*, the former two bear probity by the logicians and grammarians bu the last one, viz, *rasadhvani* is to be enjoyed only by *sahṛdayas* who are, indeed rare. Says Krisnamoorthy: "Theoretically too, exclusion of *vastudhvani* an *alaṅkāradhvani*, would land us in a hopelessly miserable state in establishing th aesthetic value of *vyangya* as superior to *vācya* when we are confronted in argu ment by learned logicians and grammarians and the like who can be presume to understand only *vyangya-vastu* as distinct from *vācya-vastu* and not als *vpangya-rasa*, because *vyangya-rasa* is by definition something that can be fel only by the few gifted ones called *sahṛdayas* or *rasikas* and outside the reach o merely learned specialists".[2]

The inaccessibility of the implicit meaning of a *kāvya* by the learned onl is ably asserted by Ānandavardhana in two of his verses of *Dhvanyāloka* :-

प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनाम् ।
यत्तत्प्रसिद्धावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति लावण्यमिवाङ्गनासु ॥ 1.4.

"But the implicit aspect is quite different from this. In the words of first rate poets, it shines supreme and towers above the beauty of the striking externa constituents even as charm in ladies".[3]

शब्दार्थशासनज्ञानमात्रेणैव न वेद्यते ।
वेद्यते स तु काव्यार्थतत्त्वज्ञैरेव केवलम् ॥ 1.7.

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† Deputy Director, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda-390 002.

1 Krishnamoorthy, K., Ed., *Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delh 1982, Intr., p. xxxi

2 *Ibid*, p. xxxvii

3 *Ibid*, p. 7

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"It is not understood by a mere learning in grammar and in dictionary. It is understood only by those who have an insight into the true significance of poetry"[4]

The aim of the present paper is to establish that Kālidāsa's *Śākuntalam* contains several hints indicating that though its main *rasa* or sentiment is *śṛṅgāra*, the whole play, as a unit of literary masterpiece, is strongly suggestive of *śāntarasa* and secondly to uphold the view of Ravindranath Tagore that the main interest of Kālidāsa in *Śākuntalam* was not so much to depict or extol extra-marital passionate love but to show its consummation through austerity in a paradise of blemishless and peaceful spiritual harmony which amounts to saying that there, indeed, is a note of *śāntarasadhvani* in *Śākuntalam*.

It would be interesting first to discuss the views of Ravindranath Tagore and the ideas of those who criticise him and to show how Tagore's views amount to saying that there is *śāntarasadhvani* in *Śākuntalam*.

In his essay entitled *Kumārasaṁbhava and Śākuntala* Tagore states that like *Mahābhārata*, in Kalidāsa's works also there is a steady note of detachment underlying the colossal dynamism and action regarding worldly pursuits. In *Mahābhārata* all valour and victories, passion and hatred, violence and retaliation, endeavour and accomplishment, end in *Mahāprasthāna*. Similarly Kālidāsa's poems do not end in beauty and enjoyment but attain their consummation in a transcendent higher state. He compares Śakuntalā's austerity after her rejection by the king with the *sādhanā* of Umā who failed to win Śiva's love by physical charms and concludes that the love which considers no social restraint, no moral rule and makes the lover negligent of his duty as in *Meghadūta* is accursed and can achieve its fulfilment in the lover's union only after it is purified by a long spell of separation and penance. In India the life of a *yogī* and the life of a householder are fused into a unity through the prevailing spirit of *tapovana*. Uncontrolled passion tries to break this relationship. Kālidāsa disowns such passion and tries to reunite the auspicious home with the austere penance-grove. This ideal of auspicious love of man and woman is protected in India through ages by severe commandments. Kālidāsa rescues the love of man and woman from the attack of unbridled passion and purifies it through penitence and penance and then installs it in a paradise of blemishless peaceful harmony.[5]

In another essay entitled *Śākuntala*, Tagore states that in *Śākuntalam*, Kālidāsa resorts to the power of suggestion from the very beginning. The king

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4 *Ibid*, p. 15

5 Tagore, Ravindranath, *Prācina Sāhitya*, a collection of Essays, Tr. by Desai Mahadeva Haribhai and Narahari Dwarkadas Parikh, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Ahmedabad, 1949, pp. 17 ff.

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bearing the arrow and quiver is compassionately prohibited by the sage with the words :—

भो भो राजन्, आश्रममृगोऽयं न हन्तव्यो न हन्तव्यः[6] ।

This prohibition, inspired by pathos, sounds the basic note of the play and covers the innocent and delicate Śakuntalā too, who is as much a part of the sacred and peaceful *tapovana* as the deer. The perfect life of *tapovana*, characterised by tranquillity and natural beauty, the *Āśrama*-routine among the flowers and foliage, receiving the guests, the love of friends, the practice of universal love, all these present a picture of wholesomeness, bliss and peace, which is so delicate that one would feel that it may break with a single blow. When the roots of love are struck in the heart of Śakuntalā, at the end of the first Act there arises the tragic cry as if of the whole *tapovana* with the words :—

भो भोस्तपस्विनः, संनिहितास्तपोवनसत्वरक्षायै भवत ।
प्रत्यासन्नः किल मृगयाविहारी पार्थिवो दुष्यन्तः ।

And Duṣyanta is immediately symbolised by an elephant maddened at the sight of the chariot and is characterised as an embodied hurdle to penance *mūrto vighnastapasaḥ*.

But alas ! the most innocent creature of the *tapovana*, viz., Śakuntalā could not be protected. Tagore also compares *Śākuntalam* with Shakespear's *Tempest* and states that in both there is conflict between man and nature. In *Tempest* man attempts to subdue and command external nature embodied in Aerial, but in *Śākuntalam* the inner nature of man is sought to be sublimated and transformed. Human nature is difficult to control. It creates conflicts. Suppression is not the final remedy. The sin in man has to be washed off through auspicious means of beauty and penance. Great literature depicts this process of sublimation in the spiritual nature of man. To keep man on the path of rectitude through temptation and fear of punishment may be the object of *daṇḍa-nīti* and *dharmanīti*, but literature adopts the path of inner refinement through penitential tears and aims to attain the paradise of peace, harmony and bliss through *tapas*. Duṣyanta's sin is hinted at in the episode of Haṁsapadikā whom he loved but once. The curse of sage Durvāsā introduces a great deviation in the course of Śakuntalā's love, who otherwise would have met the fate of Haṁsapadikā. But the seed of that event is in the nature of the hero. What has been shown as accidental for the sake of poetic propriety is, in fact, quite natural. Kālidāsa has eradicated this sin, root and branch, by the inner process of purification through repentance and gradual realisation of error and consequent rectification. The fire within the heart is made instrumental in burning the wrong attitude to ashes. Kālidāsa, as a great poet, indicates that this eventual inner process

6 All quotations in this paper are from the following edition:—
The Abhijñānaśākuntala of Kālidasa, by S. K. Belvalkar, Sahitya Akademy, New Delhi, 196

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ctitude, working by the momentum of its own creation, ultimately leads to harony and peace—the paradise that each individual aims to achieve. Moreover, e contrast between the serene and solemn peace of *tapovana* and the tense mosphere of the royal palace is briefly but ably brought out by the words of e disciples of sage Kaṇva :—

तथापीदं शश्वत्परिचितविविक्तेन मनसा ।
जनाकीर्णं मन्ये हुतवहपरीतं गृहमिव ॥ V. 10.

" With my mind long accustomed to the peace of solitude, I regard this ace swarmed by men as a house enveloped by fire. "

अभ्यक्तमिव स्नातः शुचिरशुचिमिव प्रबुद्ध इव सुप्तम् ।
बद्धमिव स्वैरगतिर्जनमिह सुखसङ्गिनमवैमि ॥ V. 11.

" I too regard the people here addicted to pleasure, as one who has had his th regards the anointed, as one who is pure the impure, as one who is awake sleeping, as one who is free in movement the bound."

The suggestion of these remarks, though profound, is very clear.

The stunned silence that envelops Śakuntalā after her rejection by the king eloquent in pointing out the strictness of the path of inner journey which, at ery step, purifies as it leads to harmony and enlightened peace.

This enlightened peace of Mārīca's *āśrama*, indeed, is very much different om the initial peace of the Kaṇva's *āśrama*. The latter was like the peace and nocence of childhood, brittle and impermanent. Such is human life. The radise of peace in which a child lives is good and beautiful, but it is trivial at e same time. The distractions and conflicts, wounds of evil and burning of ntrition of youth are necessary for the evolution of perfect life. Without ming out of the peace of childhood and plunging into the ocean of conflicts of uth, there is no hope of the enlightened peace of mature age. Sin destroys at is impermanent and contrition creates what is everlasting.[7]

Though Tagore has not explicitly said that there is *śantarasadhvani* in *kuntalam*, the tenor of his argument as a whole leaves no doubt about the tter.

Criticising the views of Tagore, Dasgupta says : " Rabindranath in his ticism of the drama (i.e. *Śākuntalam*) has interpreted it as embodying the conption of Kālidāsa that mere carnal love has a natural curse with it, unless it is astened by self-mortification and *tapasyā*. I would supplement it with a further ditional idea that this was probably Kālidāsa's view in the case of such weddgs as are to produce great sons like Bharata and Kārttikeya. He is not loyal this view either in *Vikramorvaśī* or in *Mālavikāgnimitra*. In Śākuntalā,

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 31 ff.

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however, it may rightly be argued that the conception had taken place throu passionate love and Śakuntalā was in fairly advanced state of pregnancy wh she was repulsed from Duṣyanta's court. It may further be added that the was no wilful self-mortification and attempt to rouse purity through a sense value for a great love, as was the case of Pārvati's *tapasyā* in *Kumāra-saṁbhav* From this standpoint Rabindranatha's view cannot be strictly justified.[8] Wh Tagore intended to convey was that human nature can be transformed an del vated to a higher spiritual harmony—" the earth and heaven combined in one " Goethe's words—by an inner process of purification during separation of love practising self-mortification willingly or otherwise. This is maintained by S. K. in the same volume. Says he :—" The *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, unlike most Sansk plays, is not based on the mere banality of a court-intrigue, but has a mu more serious interest in depicting the baptism of youthful love by silent sufferi Contrasted with Kālidāsa's own *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Vikramorvaśīya* t sorrow of the hero and heroine in this drama is far more human, far mo genuine; and love is no longer a light-hearted passion in an elegant surroundi nor an explosive emotion ending in madness, but a deep and steadfast entl siam, or rather a progressive emotional experience, which results in an abidi spiritual feeling..... The scene now changes from earth to heaven, from t hermitage of Kaṇva and the court of the king to the penance-grove of Mārī and the love that was of the earth changes to love that is spiritul and divine ".

Devdhar criticises Tagore's remarks by saying : " Here is a poet's int pretation of a poet and howsoever beautiful it may be, it should not blind us its central defect—it regards the first union of the lovers as a moral la There is nothing to show that the poet ever regards the lovers as sinners, no any of the characters on the stage so regard it. On the other hand, every commends the union and blesses it. Love is a beautiful passion of the soul youth a stuff that will not endure. Do not, therefore, despise love ; cherish Ah, but youth and love are not all ; the gods are jealous .... This tr circumstance of our being is illustrated in the drama. Śakuntalā is happy secure, but suddenly a total reverse of fortune comes upon her. It make feel that man is blind and helpless, the plaything of an inscrutable power This is evidently a superficial criticism of Tagore's profound views which giv a new insight into Kālidāsa's philosophy and his ability of suggestion.

C. Kunhan Raja criticises Tagore's views because according to Tagore condemns worldly enjoyment and prescribes renunciation and pen

8 Dasgupta, S. N. and De ,S. K., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, classical period, V Intr. University of Calcutta, 1947, pp. XXXVI and XXXVII

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 143 ff.

10 Devadhar, C. R. and N. G. Suru, *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, Oriental Book H Poona, 1934, Intr. pp. XXIV ff.

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r spiritual happiness. To elicit, he maintains, such an anti-worldly philosophy life is mainly subjective and proposes to advance another interpretation of *kuntala* in which he pledges to be as objective as possible. He, however, inks it appropriate to compare the philosophy of life presented in *Śākuntala* ith that found in the *Bhagavadgīta*. He, then, compares the characters of aṇva and Mārīca with the character of Durvāsa. The type of renunciation presented by Kaṇva and Mārīca is a psychological state of detachment while rticipating fully in the worldly life. Whereas the renunciation of Durvāsā is erely a change in the form of life which does not bring about real detachment, inement of spirit and mental purification, but breeds conflict with normal airs of the world. He considers the wanton interference of Durvāsā, "an esponsible wrathful sage, with normal affairs of life" to be responsible for e suffering of Śakuntalā and the king.[11] He concludes that if Kālid sa had any ilosophy, it is the philosophy of the need for those who have transcended the ters of the world to help those who are still involved in the world and its series. It is the contrast of these two types of *saṁnyāsa* that is presented in e *Śākuntala*, not the contrast of the material world and spiritual purity.[12]

It must be sufficient to state that Kunhan Raja forgets the fact of the sence of Durvāsā's curse in the original story of *Mahābhārata*. Kālidāsa vented the curse for poetic propriety, indicating his power and intention of ntrolling the attitude to describe one's crime or moral lapse realistically. agore is right when he remarks that the concealment of the crime of Duṣyanta der the coverage of Durvāsā's curse indicates the poet's power of control. In e original story the king repudiates Śakuntalā though recalling his union ith her :

सोऽथ श्रुत्वापि तद्वाक्यं तस्या राजा स्मरन्नपि ।
अब्रवीन्न स्मरामीति त्वया भद्रे समागमम् ॥[13]

Regarding the disapproval of the conduct of the hero and the heroine either Kālidāsa or by any character of the play, Rāja states :—"I am concerned ith the presentation of the theme by Kālidāsa. There is no question of rson or that person approving or disapproving the conduct of the king and of akuntalā. We are trying to deduce what Kālidāsa could have thought of the nduct of the hero and heroine in the drama, if he had any such opinion at all. the whole drama there is only one hint of disapproval of the conduct of the ero.[14] Here also the hint is only about the king failing to take Śakuntalā to

11 Raja, C. Kunhan, *Kālidāsa's Śākuntala, a Study in contrast and harmony, Prof. M. Hiriyanna Commemoration Volume*, Mysore, 1952, pp. 75 ff.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

13 *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparva*, *Śakuntalopākhyana*, 97.30.

14 तेन राज्ञा शकुन्तलायामनार्यमाचरितम् । Act IV.

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the palace. It has nothing to do with the king's conduct during his stay in hermitage ".[15]

As regards Kālidāsa's disapproval of the king's conduct in the hermita one needs simply to appreciate the suggestion of the words used by Kālid about the arrow of the king, viz. *Puṣparāśāvivāghiḥ* and the words about the phant that symbolises the king, viz. *mūrto vighnastapasaḥ*. It is not necess to state that the king's arrow symbolises the arrow of *kusumaśara* and the d the innocent and delicate Śakuntalā. So far as love and wedding are concern K lidāsa approves of them as auspicious but the same cannot be said about king's habit of hunting in respect of love.

The existence and stageability of *śāntarasa* will not be discussed h because V. Raghavan has dealt with it in great detail and has shown h Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* speaks of eight *rasas*, but contains ideas relating *śāntarasa*, how Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* endeavours to prove *Ma bhārata* to be the great epic of *śāntarasa*, how *śāntarasa* gradually came to recognised first in descriptive poems and then in plays as the secondary mot and finally as chief motive and other allied topics like the *sthāyin* of *śāntaras* He concludes by saying that the text on *śānta* found in some recensions descri *śānta* as the *prakṛti* and *rati* and other *bhāvas* as its *vikṛtis*. The latter and fall, appear and disappear in the *Ātman* : —

न यत्र दुःखं न सुखं न द्वेषो नाऽपि मत्सरः ।
समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु स शान्तः प्रथितो रसः ॥

भावा विकारा रत्याद्याः शान्तस्तु प्रकृतिर्मतः ।
विकारः प्रकृतेः जातः पुनस्तत्रैव लीयते ॥

स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्ताद् भावः प्रवर्तते ।
पुनर्निमित्तापाये च शान्त एवोपलीयते ॥

Therefore Bharat, says Abhinava, treated of śānta as the basis of all *ra* Further the relish of all *rasas* is *alaukika*, shorn of all mundane associati and hence *śāntaprāya*. Jagannātha said that *rasa* is the manifestation of t of Ātman itself when obscuring element falls away :—

वस्तुतस्तु वक्ष्यमाणश्रुतित्वारस्येन भग्नावरणा चिदेव रसः ।

Rasagangādh

In *Vikramorvaśīyam*, II, 18 Kālidāsa speaks of eight *rasas*. It ca therefore, be maintained that his primary motive in *Śākuntalam* was to d *śāntarasa*, but since *Śākuntalam* is recognised to be his best and final wo

15 Raja, C. Kunhan, *op. cit.*, p. 79
16 Raghavan, V., *The Number of Rasas*, The Adyar Literary, Adyar, 1940.
17 *Ibid.*, pp. 89 ff.

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uld not be incorrect to surmise that his maturity, compounded by wisdom, ade him to view the worldly pursuits, especially the youthful passionate love, th a serene sense of detachment. He made them basis for the development of gher values of life, like moral rectitude and spiritual tranquillity and even atitude. This he has achieved, of course, through the profound power of *vani* or suggestion, in use of which he has shown unequalled dexterity. It can ely be stated that like the author of *Mahâbhârata* Kālidāsa also employed power of suggestion in respect of *śāntarasa*. Ānandavardhana, having estabhed that *śāntarasa* is the predominent sentiment, sought to be suggested in *ahābhārata*, states :—

सत्यं, शान्तस्यैव रसस्याङ्गित्वं महाभारते, मोक्षस्य च सर्वपुरुषार्थेभ्यः प्राधान्यमित्येतत् न ब्दाभिधेयत्वेनानुक्रमण्यां दर्शितं, दर्शितं तु व्यङ्ग्यत्वेन—" भगवान् वासुदेवश्च कीर्त्यतेऽत्र सनातनः " स्मिन् वाक्ये[18] ।

The same observation is true as regards the *śāntarasa* in *Śākuntala*.

So far as the opposition of *śṛṅgāra* and *śānta* is concerned, it may be ated that Kālidāsa has depicted the earlier and suggested the latter so tactfully at the latter has not been able to affect the former even slightly and this device permitted in delineating two opposite *rasas* :

विरोधिनस्तु रसस्याङ्गिरसापेक्षया कस्यचिन्न्यूनता सम्पादनीया । यथा शान्तेऽङ्गिनि शृङ्गारस्य ारे वा शान्तस्य । परिपोषरहितस्य रसस्य कथं रसत्वमिति चेत्—उक्तमत्राङ्गिरसापेक्षया इति । अङ्गिनो रसस्य यावान् परिपोषः तावांस्तस्य न कर्तव्यः स्वतस्तु संभवी परिपोषः केन वार्यते[19] ।

Ānandavardhan considers Nāgānanda to be an illustration where *śānta* d *śṛṅgāra* have been juxtaposed :—

यः पुनरेकाधिकरणत्वे निर्विरोधो नैरन्तर्ये तु विरोधी स रसान्तरव्यवधानेन प्रबन्धे निवेशयितव्यः । ा शान्तशृङ्गारौ नागानन्दे निवेशितौ[20] ।

Regarding Kālidāsa's impact on the formulation of *dhvani* theory Tilakasiri serves that viewed in the context of the dominant role the *dhvani* theory ayed in the new trends of criticism, deriving from it and opposed to it, the pact of Kālidāsa's poetry on the clear formulation of the fundamentals of the *vani* theory must be considered to be more significant than is generally assum-.[21] Moreover Nandi has described Ānandavardhana and Kālidāsa as kindred uls, great and cultured but still polite to the core. He further states that the mprehensive literary approach of Ānandavardhana and the depth of his subtle

18 Krishnamoorthy K. ed. *op. cit.*, p. 276
19 *Ibid.*, p. 178
20 *Ibid.*, p. 182
21 Tilakasiri, J. *Kālidāsa and the Dhvani Theory*, Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Dr. Raghavan felicitation Volume, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1975, p. 457

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rasadhvani theory are to a great extent results of Kālidāsa's influence on hi
He, then, discusses the instances of *rasādidhvani*; and the suggestiveness e
subantas, *nipāta*s and *upasarga*s etc. as used by Kālidāsa in his poems a
stanzas or verses employed in his plays and notes that Ānandavardhana h
Kālidāsa in great esteem as evidenced by his remarks :—

अस्मिन्नतेविचित्रकविरमणरावाहिनि संसारे कालिदासप्रभृतयः द्वित्राः पञ्चषाः वा महाकवय
गण्यन्ते[22] ।

In view of this recognition of Kālidāsa as a great poet of *dhvani* by t
great exponent of the *dhvani*-theory, it should be easy to see how Kālidāsa h
given stray but strong hints in *Śākuntala* which suggest *śāntarasa*.

A. B. Gajendragadkar in his notes on the *nāndī* verse of *Śākuntalam* r
marks that Kālidāsa was of Vedāntic turn of mind who, though having predil
tion for Śiva, considers the trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as manifestati
of one supreme reality.[23] The Vedāntic or catholic turn of Kālidāsa's mind a
his aspiration for emancipation or freedom from the cycle of rebirth are clea
seen in *Śākuntalam*.

The setting for the first four Acts of the play is the *tapovana* or *āśrama*
Kaṇva, for the fifth and sixth Act is the royal palace and for the seventh is t
celestial *āśrama* of Mārīca. This is suggestive of the combination of earth a
heaven into one in Goethe's words or the raising of the earthly consciousness
heavenly harmony in Tagore's words. This arrangement of setting reflects
psychological or inner development and refinement gradually taking place in
hero and heroine, ultimately leading to their spiritual union and harmony.
peace prevailing in the *āśrama* of Kaṇva was tangible as testified by the
himself :—

शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं स्फुरति च बाहुः ॥ I.16.

and शमप्रधानेषु तपोधनेषु ॥ II.7.

Śakuntalā leaves this *āśrama* for the royal palace, but the sage Kaṇva
the words which suggest that she is destined to return to this *āśrama* to
with her husband after the burden of the family and the kingdom is repos
their son :—

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22 Nandi, T. S., *Kalidāsa and Ānandavardhana*, Tr. into Gujarati, Swadhyaya, Or
Institute, Baroda, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 276 ff.

23 This surmise is based on the following verse:—

एकैव मूर्त्तिर्विभिदे त्रिधा सा सामान्यमेषां प्रथमावरत्वम् ।
विष्णोर्हरस्तस्य हरिः कदाचिद् वेधास्तयोस्तावपि धातुरादौ ॥

Kumārasambhavam, 7.44.

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भूत्वा चिराय चतुरन्तमहीसपत्नी
दौष्यन्तिमप्रतिरथं तनयं निवेश्य ।
भर्त्रा तदर्पितकुटुम्बभरेण सार्धम्
शान्ते करिष्यसि पदं पुनराश्रमेऽस्मिन् ॥ V.20.

This is not merely a poetic suggestion but is also a prediction of an omnient sage who, through his *yogipratyakṣa*, is capable of seeing things to come. d the prediction is about the peace that shall inevitably envelop both the hero d the heroine.

Between the initial fragile peace of the *Kaṇvāśrama* and the earned, mature d abiding peace of the Mārīca *āśrama* there lies a period of ordeal. The const between them is briefly but sharply brought out by the words of Kaṇva's ciples quoted earlier.[24]

The king, having enjoyed the heavenly delights and the honour of sharing dra's throne, is shown as entering the mid-region, rendered sacred by the touch Viṣṇu's foot and therefore, free from the quality of *rajas* :..

त्रिस्रोतसं वहति यो गगनप्रतिष्ठां
ज्योतींषि वर्तयति च प्रविभक्तरश्मिः ॥
तस्य व्यपेतरजसः प्रवहस्य वायोः
मार्गो द्वितीयहरिविक्रमपूत एषः ॥ VII. 6.

The King, as a result of entering into this sacred region, feels peace in ich his whole being—five *jñānendriya*s, five *karmendriya*s and his mind, intelt, egoity and consciousness got submerged giving rise to an ecstatic tranquily :—

अतः खलु सर्वथान्तःकरणो ममान्तरात्मा प्रसीदति ।

After the experience of the extiction of the quality of *rajas* and the conseuent experience of peace, the king is led to a region where the final accomishment of penance is attained :—

हे-कूटो नाम किं पुरुषपर्वतः तपःसंसिद्धिक्षेत्रम् ।

In this place the king experiences bliss that is superior to the pleasures of eaven. He feels as if his being were immersed in a reservoir of ambrosia :—

स्वर्गादधिकतरं निर्वृतिस्थानम् । अमृतह्रदमिवावगाढोस्मि ।

This is the place aspired by men by their austerities, but still sages practice enance for higher spiritual attainment :—

प्राणानामनिलेन वृत्तिरुचिता सत्कल्पवृक्षे वने ।
तोये काञ्चनपद्मरेणुकपिशे धर्माभिषेकक्रिया ॥

24 Vide supra.

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ध्यानं रत्नशिलातलेषु विबुधस्त्रीसंनिधौ संयमो
यत् कांक्षन्ति तपोभिरन्यमुनयस्तस्मिन्नतपस्यन्त्यमी ॥ VII. 12.

About Mārīca Gajendragadkar in his notes remarks that he is a man has by his austerities and eminence risen above all considerations either of earth or of heaven. He is interested neither in this nor in that world hence has, as it were, taken his residence in the mid-region.

About the king's wish to follow the tradition of his ancestors the follo verse makes the point clear :—

अस्त्येतत् पौरवाणामनन्यं कुलव्रतम् ।
भवनेषु रसाधिकेषु पूर्वं क्षितिरक्षार्थमुशन्ति ये निवासम् ।
नियतैकपतिव्रतानि पश्चात तरुमूलानि गृहीभवन्ति तेषाम् ॥ VII. 20

In response to Mārica's expectation that the king should strive for prosperity of both the worlds through co-operation with Indra, he replies tha will try his best to achieve *śreyas* or highest good :—

Bhagavan, yathāśaktī śreyase yatiṣye

And when asked to express his further desire the king, reflecting Kālidā aspiration, prays, *inter alia*, for personal beatitude, or attainment of everlas peace :—

ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः
पुनर्भव परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः ॥ VII. 35.

These are several unmistakably suggestive hints which give rise to *śāntarasadhvani* in *Śākuntalam*.

Āryan view of life does not discard *kāma* from the scheme of life assigns to it its legitimate place and aims to sublimate it. Thus it helps in attainment of the ultimate and supreme value of life, viz. emancipation. T again, is the same as the realisation of the *ātman*, the nature of which is *śā śānto'yamātmā*.

The best minds in India have always upheld, like Vyasa, the celebra author of *Mahābhārata*, the view that the path of attainment of real and e lasting peace winds through the realisation of transitoriness of worldly achi ments and renunciation of what is known to be unreal. Kālidāsa being of them, is no exception in holding and supporting this basic Āryan attit towards life.

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THE TREATMENT OF TIME AND LOCATION IN UTTARARĀMACARITA

By

A. V. RAJWADE*

Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* has been considered the high watermark of s. There was no doubt in Bhavabhūti's mind that pathos is the highest on that can be depicted through literature and all other emotions fall far it.[1] The central characters of the play are the well-known mythological s, Rāma and Sītā. They are the epitome of all that is best, noblest, highest urest in Indian thought and culture. Naturally *Uttararāmacarita* makes a ndous appeal to the Indian reader and also to all readers the world over. hole of *Uttararāmacarita* is dipped in pathos, the pathos of undeserved ing on the part of Sītā, the victim of public scandal, and Rāma, who dons her, submitting himself to a higher order of things, without any deration of personal happiness or fulfilment of love. Every reader is aware emotional richness and depth of this play. The tenderness of the conjugal on which it depicts may have few parallels in the literature of the world. r than dwelling upon these familiar aspects of the play, in this paper, I have d my attention to the dramatic technique of Bhavabhūti. I am fully aware it is only for critical convenience that one can think of a play, separately the two angles of technique and theme.

Traditional Sanskrit criticism has no doubt done full justice to the literary ty and the emotional richness of the play and to the note of elevation in it. the play has much else to offer. Being a masterpiece of dramatic art, it itself to all sorts of analysis, perhaps its complexity of structure will never lly exhausted. Certain lines of approach suggested themselves to me and I have made an attempt to interpret it as a poetic play of the richest texture. etic play is a complex play—a worthy subject-matter for study from various s—technique, structure, imagery, complexity and gravity of its thought, the on rising out of the grouping of the main characters etc.

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* Lecturer in English, Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amaravati.

1 एको रसः करुण एव निमित्तभेदा-
द्भिन्नः पृथक्पृथगिवाश्रयते विवर्तान् ।
आवर्तबुद्बुदतरङ्गमयान्विकारान्
अम्भो यथा सलिलमेव हि तत्समस्तम् ॥ III-47
उत्तररामचरितम् ।

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In this note, Bhavabhūti's handling of the conventions of Time and Lo is considered. I have limited the sphere of discussion to the first three a they offer an abundant proof of the points I want to illustrate.

Dramatic art has its own conventions and conventions again are written agreement between the writer-dramatist and the readers-audience. is nothing striking if a dramatist follows certain pre-established conventi his art as the very purpose of conventions is to simplify (if not over the problems of communication posed by his art. The surprising thing is bhūti shows a singular freedom, thereby enhancing the possibilities and the of dramatic art.

I have already referred to *Uttararāmacarita* as a poetic play. A dramatist will not follow a logical and chronological line of presentation. studying the dramatic technique of a poetic-dramatist, one has to seek and his departure from the strictly logical and consecutive succession of even mere series of events is not a play. How a dramatist breaks this seri structures, sequences and suggestions of his own, is of the greatest impo It is interesting to see and impossible not to appreciate the ease with Bhavabhūti has played with these conventions. He sets down his own fi which must have been an achievement of prolonged thought given to the ba dramatic art-in *Uttararāmacarita*. His handling of Time and Locality is unsurpassed in the literature of the world.

First, I shall consider the handling of *Time* in the precise context first two acts.

In Act II, Bhavabhūti faces the problem of presenting a gap of time- passing of twelve years. Twelve years have passed since the happenings pr at the end of Act I.

It might not be out of place here to see how Shakespeare handled a problem. In *The Winter's Tale* Shakespeare has to glide over a gap of years. King Leontes of Sicilia, gets mad with jealousy and deserts his p wife. The newborn baby is secretly taken out by a faithful lord named An He carries the baby to the (non-existing) shores of Bohemia and lea there with a box of gold. She is adopted by a shepherd. Sixteen years p she grows into a young girl.

At the beginning of Act IVi, the note reads : Enter Time, the Personified Time enters and makes a sort of apology mixed with a contempt for all the so-called conventions of Time and the so-called Time.[2]

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2 Time:..... Impute it not a crime
To me, or my swift passage, that I slide
O'er sixteen years and leave the growth untried

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Thus Shakespeare joins the two points of time. Bhavabhūti's approach is ely different. It appears that he has put upon himself the strictest discipline, n drama, everything must be presented and nothing stated.

At the beginning of Act II, in the prelude (*Śuddhaviṣkaṁbhaka*) Ātreyī, *asī*, meets Vāsantī, the goddess of the forest, on the outskirts of *Tapovana*. abhūti goes on giving information through their dialogue, about the enings of the last twelve years. The following details may be noted.

At the very beginning of the play, in the *Prastāvanā*, *Sūtradhāra* and *Naṭa* is that all the members of Rāma's family (all, except Sītā who is pregnant a few others) have gone to attend the sacrifice conducted by Romapāda and the sacrifice could last for a period of twelve years. In Act II, Ātreyī ng with the news of the wider world tells Vāsantī :

" ऋष्यशृङ्गाश्रमे गुरुजनस्तदासीत् । संप्रति तु परिसमाप्तं द्वादशवार्षिकं सत्रम् ।"

dā she refers to the time when Sītā was abandoned by Rāma.

A direct bridge over the period of twelve years can be built by linking the eferences of the sacrifice. Structurally too, both the references are at the ning of the two acts. We are further told that the elders (Arundhatī ng them) who went to attend the sacrifice, refuse to go back to Ayodhyā use Sītā is banished from it. Ātreyī also prepares us for the arrival of a on the outskirts of *Tapovana*, for the purpose of killing Śaṁbūka.

In the prelude (*Śuddhaviṣkaṁbhaka*) of Act III, the river Tamasā discloses under the pretext of performing some rite connected with the twelfth birthday r sons, Sītā too is brought to Pañcavaṭī (in invisible form). Sītā's arrival art of the divine ruse. All the deities of the forest and water are afraid of a's plight. Revisiting Pañcavaṭi would be very painful for Rāma as it would ndle his grief of separation. There is no remedy for Rāma's grief except and so she should be at hand.

The grip over material that Bhavabhūti shows here is really striking. At end of Act I, Sītā nine months pregnant is tired and asleep, resting her head he shoulder of beloved Rāma. At the beginning of Act II, a period of ve years has passed, full of events like abandonment of Sitā, her delivery the twelve years' separation from husband and children. Everything is ged and still nothing is changed because after all Sītā would be the only dy for Rāma's grief.

As Ātreyī and Vāsantī look upon the all too familiar scenes of Pañcavaṭī Godāvarī, the scenes awaken the memories of Sītā's last stay there. Even

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Of that wide gap, since it is my power
To o'erthrow law and in one self-born hour
To plant and o'erwhelm custom..... (IVi)

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trees are referred to as "*Vallabhaśākhivargaḥ*".[3] Here are the trees that dear to "you". The trees bring Sītā before Ātreyī who believes that Sī dead (*nāmaśeṣā*). Bhavabhūti keeps the whole scene swinging between seen and the remembered, the actual and the associative, the present an past. He achieves this flexibility with extreme ease and his techniques c dual treatment of time is so efficient that a reader hardly feels any blc communication.

Sītā's gaze had lighted upon every inch of Pañcavaṭī and the whole is permeated by her touch. Her memories on the part of various chara like Ātreyī. Vāsantī, Rāma, the three rivers etc. inform the whole act.

The structure of Act II can be clearly seen from the following wor Rāma :

सन्दृश्यन्ते परिचितभुवो दण्डकारण्यभागाः । Act II-14
or प्रत्यक्षानिव वृत्तान्तान्पूर्वानिनुभवामि च । Act II-17

(As we shall later see, Act I also has the same type of structure.)

Here, everything is seen and described in terms of Sītā. A numb examples can be given :

Rāma :—

त्वया सह निवत्स्यामि वनेषु मधुगन्धिषु । Act II-18
or यस्यां ते दिवसास्तया सह मया नीता यथा स्वे गृहे । Act II-28

The same flashback treatment continues in Act III also as in III-6 beg with सीतादेव्या स्वकरकलितैः सल्लकीपल्लवाग्रैः....The young one of an elephant, fed b with the tender Sallaki leaves, has grown up now and come of age and is en in a ferocious fight with other elephants over his mate. In III-18, a peac described. Sītā used to make the peacock fledgling dance to the clapping hands. Now it is a full-grown peacock with its crest raised, and with brilliant plumage looking like a bejewelled crown on the Kadamba tree. d a कतिपयकुसुमकदंब is also a fully blossomed Kadamba tree now. of

Thus through numerous references strewn throughout the two acts (II with the help of the main characters and the subsidiary characters, Bhav marks the passage of Time and all the vicissitudes wrought by the touch of

In passing it may be noted that Bhavabhūti has achieved a number o things also. Through repeated happy references of the conjugal life of and Sītā, he has intensified the dimension of the pathos of their present

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[3] स एष ते वल्लभशाखिवर्गः
प्रासङ्गिकीनां विषयः कथानाम् ।
त्वां नामशेषामपि दृश्यमानः
प्रत्यक्षदृष्टामिव नः करोति ॥ II-6

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n, he has dwelt at length on the affectionate nature of Sītā who showered her eternal love on elephants and birds and trees and now lies separated from her h and blood and he has also strengthened the characters of Rāma and Sītā, defining their relationship in spite of the fact of separation. Another achievent is the vast perspective that is gained by the constant conjunction and interationship of man and nature.

In the first three acts the words *Etāni tāni* (these are the same ones) nstantly recur.[4]

As Rāma and Sītā see the scenes of Pañcavaṭī either in the form of intings as in Act I (चित्रदर्शनो नाम प्रथमोऽङ्कः) or actually, when they separately visit the *Tapovana* region, these scenes lead to other times down the tracks of e past. In Act I, where Rāma is accompanied by Sītā (the first act is laid in e palace in Ayodhyā), the whole experience is accompanied by pleasure, interrsed by flashes of pain at the sight of the unpleasant scenes, while in Act II, e revival of memories leads to an overwhelming grief and despair caused the abandonment of Sītā and the resulting separation. Since the words nilar to एतानि तानि, स एव, एतत्पुनर्वनम्, एते त एव etc. constantly recur, the play gets echoing structure. Since these words lead to the scenes they evoke again ding to other scenes that are previous experiences, the play obtains a kind of uble structure, Behind every scene lies the memory of that scene. The chrology of the dramatic action constantly overflows the present.

Thus, the first three acts rely very heavily on the evocation of the past. It a miracle of construction that a dramatist builds almost the first half of play the evocation and recollection of the past. Oddly and poetically enough, it hrough the looking-glass of the present that the past is constantly seen and versa.

(i) एतानि तानि गिरिनिर्झरिणीतटेषु
वैखानसाश्रिततरूणि तपोवनानि ।
येष्वातिथेयपरमा यमिनो भजन्ते
नीवारमुष्टिपचना गृहिणो गृहाणि ॥ I-25

(ii) स्मरसि सरसनीरां तत्र गोदावरीं वा । I-27

(iii) सोऽयं शैलः I-33

(iv) प्रत्यक्षानिव वृत्तान्तान्पूर्वानिनुभवामि च ॥ II-17
प्रियारामा हि सर्वथा वैदेह्यासीत् । एतानि तानि नाम कान्तारणि ।

(v) एते त एव गिरयः..... II-23

(vi) अत्रैव सा पञ्चवटी ।

(vii) एतानि तानि बहुनिर्झरकन्दराणि
गोदावरीपरिसरस्य गिरेस्तटानि ॥ III-B

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As Rāma visits Pañcavaṭī and breathes the air he had breathed long one is reminded of Proust's remark :

" ..... true paradises are those which one has lost.[5] "

Bhavabhūti fully exploits the deictic aspects of the language and constr before us the movement of events through time. The recurrence-consta sustained recurrence of this deictic construction (this is that..) become essential feature of his dramatic art and lends an added significance dimensionality to the content. (By its very nature the deictic construct points to various dimensions of time— backward or forward, and create particular spatio-temporal attitude.[6])

It will be an understatement to describe this treatment of Time as ster scopic[7] (the word 'stereoscopic' has been used in Proust's case), beca Bhavabhūti offers us three perspectives--first, through the experience of Act I *Citradarśana*, second, through the actual visit to Pañcavaṭī and the third, thro the memories (that these two evoke) of the past.

The landscape constantly speaks in terms of the past and keeps the sc swinging between past and present. There is a constant interplay between landscape and the mind in Act II and III. This relationship between landscape and the consciousness of various characters becomes the underly principle of the structure and aesthetic of the first three acts of *Uttararāmacar*

The climax of this treatment occurs in Act III. Rāma as anticipated fa down with an excess of grief at the sights of *Janasthāna* and Sītā at the sug tion of the river Tamasā, comes forward and touches his forehead. At t touch Rāma regains consciousness. Two verses in this Act are as follows :

स्पर्शः पुरा परिचितो नियतं स एव
सर्ज्जावनश्च मनसः परितोषणश्च ।
सन्तापजां सपदि यः परिहृत्य मूर्च्छा-
मानन्दनेन जडतां पुनरातनोति ॥ III-12

गृहीतो यः पूर्वं परिणयविधौ कङ्कणधरः
सुधासूतेः पादैरमृतशिशिरैर्यः परिचितः ।
स एवायं तस्यास्तुहिननिकरौपम्यसुभगो
मया लब्धः पाणिर्ललितलवलीकन्दलनिभः ॥ III-40

Here, it is not only a remembrance of something seen (and can be by all the characters around), but something felt and experienced by I

5 Proust M., *Remembrance of Things Past*, tr. C. K. Moncrieff and Fredrick A. Bl Vol. II, p. 994.

6 Fowler Roger, *Understanding Language*, p. 112.

7 Shattuck Roger, *Proust's Binoculars*, Chapter III, p. 51.

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e. From the visual level Bhavabūti lifts the play to the intimate level of h. Rāma feels the touch of Sītā's hand and regains consciousness, he cannot her as she is invisible, but even the first memory of that touch, during the at the time of his marriage to her, is revived in his mind. What a long idor of consciousness stretches itself before us. One stands awe-struck at the plexity of Bhavabhūti's vision. His vision of life is not of a motionless and sted world and the experience thereof. He makes us see the flux and conti- y of time and events set in various perspectives according to the relation of viewer. One can hardly forget that towards the end of Act I, Rāma has n a detailed description of the sensation that each touch of Sītā awakens im.[8]

After abandonment and after twelve years of separationn the same touch he same Sītā awakens the same sensation of an almost ineffable bliss.

In Act III, Rāma sees the slab of stone on which Sītā used to lie down, den by a thick growth of Kardali plants around it and used to feed the young s of deer. Vāsantī tells Rāma that the deer refused to leave that place for a g time after Sītā's abduction. Rāma breaks down at this point. (Again, the contrast between his behaviour and that of the deer). Sītā, who is ching the whole scene is herself invisible. In her prolonged lamentation at point she says :

स एवार्यपुत्रस्तदेव पञ्चवटीवनं सैव प्रियसखी वासन्ती त एव विविधविस्रम्भसाक्षिणो गोदावरी-नोद्देशास्त एव जातनिर्विशेषा मृगपक्षिपादपाः सैव चाहम्'। मम पुनर्मन्दभाग्याया दृश्यमानमपि सैवैतन्नास्तीति तदीदृशो जीवलोकस्य परिणामः संवृत्तः ।

The constant strumming on स एव, तदेव etc. should be noted here. The sage is a supreme example of a crescendo of anaphoric utterance. The last e carries the despair of Sītā's situation : everything is the same, the same Rāma, same Pañcavaṭī, the same Vāsantī, the same beasts and birds and the same ā, but the irony of things is such that it is as if it does not exist for her. he is abandoned and in this particular context invisible also). Bhavabhūti ther shows that in spite of the irony of her fate and the universal disaster, e aspect of her life remains unchanged and that is the bond between Rāma d herself. It is a relationship that is put beyond and above the flux of Time. ter establishing the permanence of this bond against the eternal flux of things, avabhūti brings Act III to a fitting close ; but not before he has drawn a

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8 रामः—विनिश्चेतुं शक्यो न सुखमिति वा दुःखमिति वा
प्रमोहो निद्रा वा किमु विषविसर्पः किमु मदः ।
तव स्पर्शे स्पर्शे मम हि परिमूढेन्द्रियगणो
विकारश्चैतन्यं भ्रमयति च संमीलयति च ॥ I-35

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parallel in the world of nature. The landscape is no exception to this princ of permanence within the flux. The illustration he gives is not only vivid sublime too. Rāma, entering the *Tapovana* looks upon the landscape marvels at the changes wrought by the passage of time. It is a verse too fam to be quoted :

पुरा यत्र स्रोतः पुलिनमधुना तत्र सरितां
विपर्यासं यातो घनविरलभावः क्षितिरुहाम् ।
बहोर्दृष्टं कालादपरमिव मन्ये वनमिदम्
निवेशः शैलानां तदिदमिति बुद्धिं द्रढयति ॥ II-27

Rivers have changed their courses. The place where formerly there wa stream of water is now changed into a bank of sand. The trees that were t dense are now thin and vice versa. As if it is some other wood ! But aspects of the mountains remain the same and confirm that it is the same (woo And as Rāma proceeds further, he is overwhelmed by the memories the la scape gives rise to. The wood might almost be called a Wood of Memor

The shift from Act II to Act III is worth-studying from another poin view also. Act II closes with the words of Śaṁbūka, describing the landsc in all its details. The last words of the act are :

इमे गभीरपयसः पुण्याः सरित्संगमाः ॥

In the first two lines of the verse, Śaṁbūka describes the aspects of mountains nearby and in the next two lines, the confluence of the rivers and deep water there. Bhavabhūti takes his clue for the next act (Act III) fr the last word : सरित्सङ्गमाः[9]. As if he wants to play round the concept confluence, he opens Act III in a flash of imagination, as follows :

ततः प्रविशति नदीद्वयम् ।

The two rivers, Tamasā and Muralā come forward as dramatic character their own right, with a part to play in the proceedings of the play.

Bhavabhūti's dramatic arsenal is surprising and even among his peers- greatest dramatists of the world-his handling of the landscape seems unsurpa to me. After all, the whole of great drama cannot be found in the literatur any one particular language or any one particular period. While reading prelude (*Śuddhaviṣkaṁbhaka*) of Act III, Valery's definition of p discourse came to my mind : "The poet's use of language is the non-usa

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9 एते ते कुहरेषु गद्गदनदद्गोदावरी वारयो
मेघालम्बितमौलिनीलशिखराः क्षोणीभृतो दक्षिणाः ।
अन्योन्यप्रतिघातसङ्कुलचलत्कल्लोलकोलाहलैः
उत्तालास्त इमे गभीरपयसः पुण्याः सरित्सङ्गमाः ॥ II-30

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ɔt saying it is raining." Bhavabhūti never wavers in handling his al, never allows the bluntness and the directness of the statement level ık the symphony of his poetic and dramatic universe.

The scene begins with the entry of the two rivers, Tamasā and Muralā, together. River Muralā is restless and River Tamasā naturally concern- ɔut her state. One must pause and imagine in the mind's eye the restless- f rivers. Muralā is in a great hurry as she has to carry an urgent message ɛr Godāvarī. On her way she meets Tamasā and then moves forward ls Godāvarī. In simple, ordinary, work-a-day language, it means that the s that of the confluence of the three rivers.

Not only is the presentation of the fact poetic, its purpose is equally poetic What is all this flurry about ? The rivers are worried over the well-being ma. Rāma is coming to Pañcavaṭī (this message also was sent by a river ū- on the bank of which Ayodhyā was situated). The familiar scenes kindle his grief of separation and who knows what he might do to himself ! all who can forget that Rāma and Sītā had spent the happiest period of fe, ironically during the term of *Vanavāsa*, here, in this very *Tapovana* and mpossible not to remember Sītā as one comes to Pañcavaṭī. So the rivers each other to be on guard. This brief interlude is a marvel of dramatic ement. Bhavabhūti has here achieved manifold dramatic and poetic The concept of anthropomorphism is one of the root-concepts of Indian . These rivers are river-goddesses, closely watching the human drama on their banks and deeply concerned about the well-being of human

What is more natural for a river than to be agitated by the slightest turn nts, again what is more natural than the shaking of the hearts of rivers ? the effortless pun on कम्पितम् in तमवलोक्य कम्पितमपि सबन्धनं मे हृदयम् ।

Saint Agasti's wife Lopāmudrā has sent this message to Godāvarī to do st to alleviate Rāma's suffering by constantly fanning him with the cool agrant breezes of wind, blowing over her cool waters. The whole verse is tenderness and a wonderful sense of affinity between human life and [10]

The rivers are determined to do their best to alleviate the unbearable of Rāma's grief. They also tell us that the most effective means of ng Rāma's spirit is at hand today- meaning Sītā.

वीचीवातैः शीकरक्षोदशीतै—
राकर्षद्भिः पद्मकिञ्जल्कगन्धान् ।
मोहे मोहे रामभद्रस्य जीवं
स्वैरं स्वैरं प्रैरितैस्तर्पयेति ॥ II-2

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The network of information of these rivers (Tamasā, Muralā, G Śarayū) that Bhavabhūti has woven in this scene is yet another proo complexity of the structure of the play.

As one tries to connect the landscape with what is happening ag one comes to feel that the landscape is the unifying point of various th the play.

The interplay between the past and present, the almost nu labyrinths and corridors of memory, the restoration of the sundered relati the continuity of these relationships in spite of the apparent separations, between human life and nature....., all these strands are brought in Pañcavaṭī just as all the major characters are assembled there. Pañca assumes the aspect of a unifying force, playing upon human life and be structural unit in the total scheme of the play. The setting, a mere 's properties' becomes an image. One can hardly overlook the fact that tion of the scene is a place of confluence which-itself is a symbol of mer unifying.

In modern literature and criticism, we are not unfamiliar with the of the landscape as one of the dramatis personae. The discovery artistic quality in Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* comes as a happy sur establishes *Uttararāmacarita* in one's mind, not only as a play which ris full glory of pathos, but, also as a play with an extremely rich, complex a ent technique.

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HASTIGIRIMĀHĀTMYA RAHASYAM

By

SARADHA S. SRINIVASAN*

Hastigirimāhātmyarahasyam, is studied from a single manuscript from the l Institute, Baroda. The details of the manuscript are as follows :

Place of Deposit	:	Oriental Institute, Baroda.
ACC. No.	:	10134
Title	:	*Hastigiri-māhātmya-rahasyam*
Author	:	Jaya Rāghava.
Date	:	*Iśvara saṃvatsara, Caitra bahula Caturthī,* corresponding to 30th March, 1697 A.D.
Folios	:	12
No. of lines in each folio	:	6, 7 & 8
No. of letters in each line	:	about 55
Material	:	Palm-leaf
Script	:	Mixed Tamil and Grantha scripts
Style	:	Written in one uniform handwriting
Size	:	37 cms. by 3 cms.
Condition	:	Fair with some parts moth-eaten

The manuscript has many scribal errors. There are too many *saṃyuk-as*. The verses are not numbered. It is partly in verse and partly in prose. anguage used is mainly Tamil, with a few Sanskrit lines. In the end of the the South Indian type of "2" is used. There are many grammatical es.

The invocation "*Śrīmate Śrīnivāsā tātāya namaḥ, Śrīmate Veṅkaṭanāthāya* " etc. are common among the *Vaiṣṇava* writers. Hence the copyist must South Indian *Vaiṣṇava*. The dating is given as *Iśvara saṃvatsara, Caitra caturthī*, which is the most common way of expressing in *Prabhavādi aṃvatsara* in South India.

The Ms. is rare. It is mentioned in the *māhātmya* itself as a part of *māṇḍapurāṇa*. Though Aufrecht[1] has recorded this as a part of *Brahmāṇḍa-a*, it is not found in the extant *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* printed texts. This shows n the place of the origin of *Hastigiri-māhātmya, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* was in

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* Lecturer in Archaeology, Dept. of Archaeology & Ancient Indian Hlstory, Faculty of aroda-390-002.

1 "Aufrecht. T." *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I. p. 388. *Hastigirimāhātmya*—Mack 90, 190-a, Taylor 1, 439.

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Summary of the Māhātmya :

This is claimed as a part of *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. Brahmā decided form the horse-sacrifice to get a *darśana* of Lord Viṣṇu. He sent Vasiṣ bring Sarasvatī. Since she was late, Brahmā started the sacrifice with Sarasvatī felt humiliated, took the form of a river and tried to destroy th ficial altar. Viṣṇu came as a huge flaming form from the sacrificial alt Sarasvatī could not proceed further and disappeared underground. Sh got reconciled with Brahmā and Brahmā performed the sacrifice wit Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī, Lord Viṣṇu appeared on *Caitra Kṛṣṇa caturda Hasta-nakṣatra* (year is not mentioned) and agreed to stay with his N (Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī) on the Hastigiri or Satyavratakṣetra. This *Māh* has been written on *Īśvara saṃvatsara, Caitra kṛṣṇa caturthī, Bhau* corresponding to 30-3-1697 A.D.

Hastigiri is recognised as the Hastagiri in Kāñcīpuram in Tam Kāncipuram is considered as one among the seven holy cities in India, bestow salvation for Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites alike. About three kilometre the railway station in this pilgrim centre, is the temple of Devarājasvāmī known now as Varadarājaswāmī, built on a small hillock, called Hastagiri. *Hasta* asterism falling on *Caitra kṛṣṇa caturdaśī*, is considered as the *avatāra* of Varadarāja, the hillock has been named Hastagiri. This tem been praised in the songs of Bhoothathālwār and Poyalwār, who are two twelve famous *Vaiṣṇava* devotees of South India who lived in 6th centur It can, therefore, be surmised that this temple had been in existence eve Apparently the old temple went into ruins and the Vijayanagar rulers, w all staunch Vaiṣṇavites are said to have built the present structure. Sri Āla Sri Ramānuja and some other Alwārs also are known to have resided some time.[2]

The *Māhātmya* mentions '*Śīrmate Śrīnivāsatāthāya namaḥ*' and th be referring to Sri Tāta Desigar, whose statue is installed in the temp *Caitra pūrṇimā*, the deity is taken out in procession to the neighbouring vi

The original *Hastigirimāhātmya* is a eulogical poem on God Varada the Satyavratakṣetra (Kāñcīpuram). It contains twenty nine verses i composed by Śrī Vedānta Deśika (also known as Veṅkaṭanātha).[3] another *Hastigirimāhātmya* composed by the same author in *maṇipravāḷa* Sankrit and Tamil, generally used by Vaiṣṇava writers).

2 *Census of India* 1961. Vol. IX, Madras, Part XI D, p. 104.

3 Raghavan, V. K. S., of N. R. "*History of Viśiṣṭādvaita Literature.*" Ajanta P 1979, p. 43, 47.

The author wishes to acknowledge thanks, to Dr. S. G. Kantawala and the o of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda for granting permission to study script.

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VINAŚANA

By

O. P. BHARADWAJ *

Medieval Sanskrit Lexicons[1] define *Vinaśana* as the place where the Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī, identified with the present Ghaggar,[2] disappears in the sands or hes underground :

विनश्यति अन्तर्धाति सरस्वती अत्र ।

Although once a perennial river[3], the Sarasvatī was later reduced to a rainy n torrent which dries up in the sands of Rajasthan just beyond the boundary aryana. From the earliest times it was treated as the holiest of the holy ıg rivers and the Ṛgvedic poet not only deified it but also accorded to it the ıost place among goddesses in the epithet *Devītamā*.[4] The holiness of the was naturally associated with the place of its disappearance also and *ana* came to be regarded among the foremost of the *tīrtha*s of this country ommended specially for the performance of *Śrāddha* and for the commence- of the long Sārasvata and Dārṣadvata sacrificial sessions.[5] Devala, quoted

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* Bungalow No. 110, Sector 24 A, Chandigarh, Punjab

1 *Śabdakalpadruma*, Delhi, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 400.

2 Spate O. H. K. and others, *India, Pakistan and Ceylon : The Regions* 3rd ed. London p. 536. According to Sir Aurel Stein (" A survey of Ancient sites along the ' Lost ' Saras- River ", *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. XCIX January, June 1942 p. 176) the dry bed of haggar-Hakra river in Bikaner territory, over more than 100 miles, is nowhere less than 2 and in places 4 miles or more which has given rise to popular legends and local belief that ed was once the course of a mighty river. This agrees with the description of the Sarvasvatī *Ṛgveda* as will be noticed infra. S. N. Roy's view that the original Sarasvati existed in ra and not in Kurukṣetra is utterly untenable. For fresh material confirming this identi- n see Bharadwaj O. P., " Gaṅgā to Ghaggar with Vālmīki ", *Vishveshvaranand Indological al*, Vol. XVII, (1979) pp. 142-167. Also on Vedic Sarasvatī or Ghaggar as a great layan river and Dṛṣadvatī its major Himalayan tributary see Bimal Ghose, Amar Kar Zahid Husain, " Comparative Role Of The Aravalli and the Himalayan River systems in luvial Sedimentation of the Rajasthan Desert ", *Man and Environment*. Vol.iv, 1980, pp.

3 cf. Raychaudhuri H. C. *Studies In Indian Antiquities*, Calcutta 1958, p. 134.

4 *R. V.*, 2.41.16.

5 These sessions were performed while moving upstream along the Sarasvatī over a long ion of time. Therefore they were called ' *Yātsatras.* ' *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.* ed. Sharma adhar, Kashi V. S. 1987, 24.5.25 :

यात्सत्राणि सारस्वतानि । Com. : यात्वा यात्वा क्रियन्त इति वा ।

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in the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara[6] includes it among the noted of the Sarasvatī. In the *Mahābhārata*[7] and the *Purāṇas*[8] also it finds m at many places.

The earliest notice of Sarasvatī's disappearance in the desert, ho goes back to the time of the *Brāhmaṇas*[9] which is considered the creative the sacrificial cult.[10] It is also mentioned in the *Kalpasūtras* which are concerned with giving a succinct and systematic account of the Vedic sac and customs prevalent at the time of their composition.[11] The *Ait Brāhmaṇa*[12] records an incident when the *Ṛṣis* expelled Kavaṣa Ailūṣa fr Soma sacrifice being performed on the Sarasvatī with the intention that he sh die of thirst in the desert. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[13] also contains a sig reference in the episode of another sacrifice performed by the gods in Kuruk Here the gods are said to have declared that the ant who would gnaw bowstring of Viṣṇu would be granted constant enjoyment of food and he w find water even in the desert. Evidently the venue of the sacrifice in bo cases was at or near the spot where the river had no water in it. The *Ṣ viṃśa Brāhmaṇa*[14] is more specific in naming *Vinaśana* as the place of con

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6 Ed., K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *G.O.S.* Baroda, 1942, p. 250 :

प्लक्षप्रस्रवणं वृद्धकन्याकं सारस्वतं आदित्यतीर्थं कौबेरं वैजयन्तं पृथूदकं नैमिशं विनशनं वं प्रभासमिति सारस्वतानि.

7 B.O.R.I. Text, *Vana*, 130.3 and *Śalya*, 36.1 etc.

8 e.g. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, Gurumandal Series, Calcutta, 1963, 36.27. and *Brahmāṇḍa* ed. Jagdish Shastri, Delhi 1973. ii.3.13. 69 etc.

9 *Cambridge History of India*, 3rd Indian Reprint, Delhi 1968, Vol. 1, p. 105.

10 Devasthali, G. V. *Religion and Mythology of the Brāhmaṇas*, Poona 1965,

11 Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, Delhi 1959, pp. 1.2.

12 ii.19 :

ऋषयो वा सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत ते कवषमैलूषं सोमादनयन् दास्याः पुत्रः कितवोऽब्राह्म नो मध्ये दीक्षिष्टेति तं बहिर्धन्वोदवहन् अत्रैनं पिपासा हन्तु सरस्वत्या उदकं मा पादिति ।....

Also *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa XII*.3.

13 XIV.1.1.8 :

योऽस्य ज्यामप्यद्यात्किमस्मै प्रयच्छेतेत्यन्नाद्यमस्मै प्रयच्छेमापि धन्वन्नपोऽधिगच्छेत्तथास्मै प्रयच्छेमेति ।...

14 Chaukhamba, Banares 1936, Pt. ii. XXV. 10.1 : सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते...

Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra, Anandashram Series, Poona 1917 : vi.6.1 :

अथ सारस्वतानि । सरस्वत्या उदकान्ते दीक्षेरन् (Com.: पश्चिम उदकान्त इत्यनेन विनशनमिति प्रसिद्धो देश उच्यते) ।

and *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* ed. Weber A, Reprint, Varanasi, 1972, 24.5.30 :

शुक्लपक्षसप्तम्यां दीक्षा सरस्वतीविनशने.....

Also *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* XIII.29.1., *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, ed. Anand A.S.B. Calcutta, 1870. X.15.1. and *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, 1.1.2.10. etc.

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Dīkṣā) for the Sārasvāta and Dārṣadvata sacrificial sessions which were to formed while moving upstream along the river. It is, therefore, wrong to at the idea of *Vinaśana* or the drying up of the Sarasvatī corresponds to a tage of the Epic Geography[15] or to a recent upheaval in the Himalayas l Mohammedan times.[16]

Before undertaking an examination of such references for ascertaining the phical position of *Vinaśana*, it deserves to be noted that as a place-name not always remain confined to a particular spot or locality and came to a region and even a whole *Janapada*.[17] The reason was that the site of earance of the river kept continuously shifting with its gradually shortening as the rainfall decreased on the lower Himalayan slopes.[18] According to . Spate,[19] the flow even now during rains normally ceases at Hanumangarh, onally extending for another 16 miles or so. This appears to find support he *Mahābhārata*[20] which, immediately before mentioning *Vinaśana*, names a Dīrghasattra as the place where the gods, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Siddhas* and *Ṛṣis* enced their long sacrificial sessions. As already noted, this honour was ed for *Vinaśana* in the *Brāhmaṇa*s and *Sūtra*s. The apparent contradiction ily resolved with the inference that when the site of *Vinaśana* had shifted am the sacrificial sessions for some time continued to be started from the spot which having lost its real name, got the appellation of Dīrghasatttra,

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Dwivedi R. K. "The Sarasvatī Complex in the *Mahābhārata*," *K. C. Chattopadhyaya ial Vol.* Allahabad 1975, pp. 160-175.

Oldham, "The Sarasvatī and the Lost River of the Indian Desert", *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, , Vol. 25, pp. 116, 124 f. His view is shared by Raverty, Bryson and Baerreis but rejected ers including Vishnu Mittre and V. M. Meher-Homji. See Meher-Homji, "The Thar Its climatic History", *Man and Environment* Vol. iv, 1980, pp. 1-7.

Kāśikā on Pāṇini iv.2.124, ed. Narayana Mishra, Varanasi 1969, p. 352, where it is *Adarśa* in the example *Ādarśakah*.

It is said to have reached even up to Panjnad. See J. Wilson, *Final Report on the Revi- settlement of the Sirsa District in the Punjab*, 1879-83, p. 5; *Skanda Purāṇa* (Nirnayasagar *Nāgara Khaṇḍa*, 164.39. appears to suggest that the flow of the river reached beyond bhar lake in the reference to the setting up of the Durgā on the bank of the Sarasvatī ambharī, wife of Caṇḍaśarmā:

शाकंभरीति विख्याता भार्याऽऽसीच्चण्डशर्मणः। तया संस्थापिता दुर्गा सरस्वत्या शुभे तटे॥

evala, as we have already seen (n. 6. supra) mentions Prabhāsa as the last *tīrtha* on the hich is supported by Sarvagya-Nārāyaṇa in his gloss on Manu xi. 77 :

प्रतिस्रोतः प्रभासमारभ्य 'प्लक्षप्रस्रवणान्तं यत्र यत्र सरस्वती तत्र तत्र स्रोतो लक्षीकृत्य तीरेण ।...

op. cit. p. 536.

Śalya, 80.116:

यत्र ब्रह्मादयो देवाः सिद्धाश्च परमर्षयः।
दीर्घसत्रमुपासन्ते दक्षिणाभिर्यतव्रताः॥

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meaning " (the site of) long sacrificial sessions ". The *Padmapurāṇa* reminds us of ths same phenomenon when it locates the site of *Vinaśana* downstream as Puṣkarāraṇya. So does Śrīdharasvāmī[22] (Circa A.D. 14 his commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (i.9.1.) while locating *Vinaś* Kurukṣetra itself. There is, however, no doubt that during the age of co tion of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras* at least, when the cult of sacrifice wa climax, the name of *Vinaśana* stuck to one particular locality which constantly remained humming with all sorts of sacrificial activity. As w see, it is possible to attempt a precise geographical identification of this si the help of literary references and a most remarkable piece of evidence t up by Archaeology.

It would be more convenient to proceed from the general to the part

The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*[23] defines Āryāvartta as the country ly the east of Adarśana (which is the same as *Vinaśana*), west of Kālak south of the Himalayas and north of Pāriyātra. The *Vāsiṣṭha Dharma* repeats the definition almost verbatim with Adarśa in place of Adarśan does the *Mahābhaṣya* of Patañjali.[25] In the *Manusmṛti*[26] Kālakavana is re with Prayāga while applying the same geographical definition to Madh which is equated with Āryāvartta. This is repeated in the *Abhidhānacin* of Hemacandra[27] and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara[28] who also de another more central region, which he calls Antarvedī, as lying between *Vi* and Prayāga and Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[29]

Puruṣottamadeva[30] equates Kurukṣetra with *Vinaśana* and *Śabdakalpa* places it in the north-west of Hastināpura. The use of *Vinaśana* loosely i

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21 i. 18. 247:

पुष्करारण्यमासाद्य पुनस्तस्मात्सरस्वती ।

अन्तर्द्धानं गता गन्तुं प्रवृत्ता पश्चिमामुखी ॥

22 Cited by H. C. Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 139.

23 i. 2. 10:

प्रागदर्शनात् प्रत्यक्कालकवनात् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तम् उदक् पारियात्रम् एतदार्यावर्त्तम् ...

24 See Kane P. V., *History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Poona 1941, Vol. ii. pt. i. p.

25 ii. 4. 10.

26 ii. 21.

27 iii. 17.

28 Ch. ii.

29 Ch. xvii :

विनशनप्रयागयोर्गंगायमुनयोश्चान्तरमन्तर्वेदी ।

30 *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* ii. 1.14:

कुरुक्षेत्रं विनशनं कौशाम्बी वत्सपत्तनम् ।

Śabda. adds .....तच्च हस्तिनाया उत्तरपश्चिमे वर्तते ।

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kṣetra occurs even in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* where Bhīṣma is said to have
Vinaśana[31] and Balarāma mentioned as going to *Vinaśana* to forestall
e-duel between Bhīma and Duryodhana.[32] Apparantly it suggests the
g importance of *Vinaśana*.

these references, without exception place *Vinaśanā* on the western limit
vartta or Madhyadeśa. The *Mahābhārata* also points to the same
in locating it more precisely on the top of the desert.[33] It strengthens
further by placing the disappearance of the river short of the country
ūdras and *Ābhīras* as well as the *Niṣādas*.[34] These tribes are generally
inhabiting the left bank of the Indus around the Uch-Khanpur region
/alpur.[35] The *Śūdras* are identified with the Sodrai of the Greeks and
ipied northern Sind with contiguous portions of the Punjab (Mithankot
d the Bhawalpur state below the confluence of the Punjab rivers.[36] The
t of the *Ābhīras* stood on the Indus.[37] The region called Abiria after
the Periplus of the Erythrian Sea comprised a portion of western
ia.[38] And the *Niṣādas* according to Buhler, occupied the area around

nerally speaking, therefore, it would be correct to assign *Vinaśana* to
hern part of the Rajasthan desert.[40] Yet, it is interesting to see how

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9. 1 :
ति भीतः प्रजाद्रोहात् सर्वधर्मविवित्सया ।
तो विनशनं प्रागात् यत्र देवव्रतोऽपतत् ॥
. 79.23 :
भीमदुर्योधनयोर्गदाभ्यां युध्यतोर्मृधे ।
ारयिष्यन् विनशनं जगाम यदुनन्दनः ॥
ana, 80.118 :
तो विनशनं गच्छेन्नियतो नियताशनः ।
च्छत्यन्तर्हिता यत्र मरुपृष्ठे सरस्वती ॥
alya, 36.1 :
तो विनशनं राजन्नाजगाम हलायुधः ।
द्वाभीरान् प्रति द्वेषाद्यत्र नष्टा सरस्वती ॥ and
, 130.3 and 4 :
तद्विनशनं नाम सरस्वत्या विशाम्पते ॥
ारं निषादराष्ट्रस्य येषां द्वेषात्सरस्वती ।
विष्टा पृथिवीं वीर मा निषादा हि मां विदुः ॥

Ali, S. M. *The Geography of the Purāṇas*, Second ed. Delhi, 1973, p. 144.
Raychaudhuri, H. C. *Political History of Ancient India*, 7th ed. Calcutta, 1972, p. 227.
bid.
Law, B. C. *Tribes in Ancient India*, 2nd ed. Poona 1973, p. 63.
Mathur, V. K. *Aitihāsika Sthānāvalī*, Delhi 1969, p. 503.
This exactly is implied by its location on the top of the desert (*Marupṛṣṭha*) in the *Mahābhārata*, n. 33 supra.

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widely scholars can manage to differ even while not trying to be too s

To note only a few of the views in this regard S. K. Belvalker[4] *Vinaśana* as the desert in Ambala and Sirhind while Wadia[42] calls it th the Bikaner desert. Rahul Sankrityayana[43] locates it not far from the of the Chenab and the Sutlej and even the Indus. Nandolal Dey,[44] B. and D. C. Sircar[46] agree with Oldham[47] in placing it near Sirsa. K Godbole[49] and Saxena[50] follow the Ambala District Gazetteer[51] in ide with Bhatner which is the same as Hanumangarh. H. C. Raych vaguely puts it near the tract in the lower Indus valley and western while M. L. Bhargava[53] finds it somewhere above Sardargarh and prob about Suratgarh. The *Vedic Age*[54] like the *Vedic Index*[55] confines it district and Indras[56] places it in the Khadal tract about the Deraw Cholistan Tehsil in Bahawalpur District of Pakistan.

Actually if we examine the available literary evidence closely, we justification for such divergence of opinions.

According to the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*[57] anyone undertaking a sacrificial session got initiated at *Vinaśana* and then moved upstream eastern bank of the Sarasvatī towards its source at Plakṣaprāsravaṇa session was supposed to end followed by the *Avabhṛtha* or the lustral b Yamunā. En route at the river's confluence with the Dṛṣadvatī, o the latter to regain the eastern bank of the Sarasvatī for resuming one upstream. Likewise, for the Dārṣadvata sacrificial session, one wa

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41 Cited by Dwivedi, op. cit., p. 173.
42 *Geology of India*, 4th ed. Reprint Delhi, 1976, p. 368.
43 Vide *Ṛgvedic Ārya*, Allahabad, 1957, p. 8.
44 *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 3rd. ed. Delhi,
45 *Rivers of India*, Calcutta, p. 16.
46 *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 2nd ed. Delhi, 1
47 *J.R.A.S.* 1893, Series-3. Vol. 25. p. 52.
48 Quoted by N. N. Godbole, *Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī*, Jaipur 1963, p. 18.
49 *Ibid.*, Intro. p. 1.
50 *Regional Geography of Vedic India*, Kanpur 1976, p. 10.
51 Lahore 1892, p. 7.
52 *P.H.A.I.*, p. 481.
53 *The Geography of Ṛgvedic India*, Lucknow, 1964, p. 83.
54 Ed. Majumdar R. C., London 1951, p. 251.
55 Third reprint, Delhi 1967, Vol. II, p. 300.
56 *Lost Sarasvatī*, Vallabh Vidyanagar, 1967, 145-1. p. 92.
57 XXV. 10 :

सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते । १ । प्रतीपं यन्ति न ह्यन्वीपमष्ट वै पूर्वेण पक्षसा यन्ति दृषद्वत्येव । १४ । दृषद्वत्या अप्ययेऽपोनप्त्रीयं चरुं निरुप्याथा यन्ति । १५ ।...यदा आगच्छन्त्यथोत्थाने । २१ ।...कारपचवं प्रति यमुनामवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति । २३ ।

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up from the point of the confluence the eastern bank of the Dṛṣadvatī nately to terminate the session after a lustral bath at Triplakṣ vaharaṇa amunā. One was to consecrate one's fires at Pariṇah before starting up- ong the Dṛṣadvatī. According to the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[58] Pariṇah was e of a lake in the lower half of Kurukṣetra while the *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta* kes it to represent 'risen ground'. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[60] and the *a Śrauta Sūtra*[61] appear to support the second view which is obviously eptable.

m this it becomes quite clear that *Vinaśana* was the site of disappear- the combined stream of the two rivers and therefore, naturally further am from the confluence rather than above it as wrongly suggested by [2] and some other scholars. This position is fully confirmed from the enumeration of *tīrthas* in the *Vanaparva*[63] of the *Mahābhārata* where tion of *Vinaśana* is followed upstream by that of Śaśayāna, Kumārakoṭi, ṭi, Saṅgama and Kurukṣetra. Evidently, the Saṅgama was considered to Kurukṣetra when equated with Brahmāvarta lying in the Sarasvatī- ī doab.[64] We need not concern ourselves with other *tīrthas* named here ocation of *Vinaśana* a few stages below the confluence is left in no doubt.

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d. Raghuvira, Nagpur 1954, ii. 300 :

ां उ तेषां परीणदिति कुरुक्षेत्रस्य जघनार्धे सरस्वन्दन्तम् दीक्षायै ते प्राञ्चो यन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रम् ।...

S. 19. 1 :

त्सरादूर्ध्वं परीणं नाम स्थली कुरुक्षेत्रे तस्यामग्नीनाधाय ।

he Commentator :

णहीति देशश्रुतिः परीणम् नाम स्थली कुरुक्षेत्रे भूमेरुन्नतप्रदेशः तस्यां स्थित्वाग्नीनाधाय... ।

i. i :

ां कुरुक्षेत्रं वेदिरासीत् । तस्यै खाण्डवो दक्षिणार्ध आसीत् तूघ्नमुत्तरार्धः । परीणज्जघनार्धः ।

।...

IV. 6. 32 :

क्षेत्रे परिणहिष्यलेऽन्याधेयमन्वारंभणीयान्तं भवति ।

q. cit. pp. 113 and 120. He places *Vinaśana* near Sirsa and the confluence near rther down on the Ghaggar. Y. D. Sharma also locates *Saṅgama* below Kalibangan. *ings of the Archaeological Congress and Seminar* 1972, ed. Singh U. V., Kurukṣetra 976, map on the back of p. 5. However K.N. Dikshit ("A critical Review of the an Cultures", *Man and Environment*, Vol. iv. 1980, pp. 32-43) agrees with us in plac- gan below the *Saṅgama* in the map on p. 33.

.120-130 and 81.1.

ter completing the description of *Saṅgama* in the last verse no. 133 of ch. 80 of the *Mbh.* says in the first verse of ch. 81 :

ी गच्छेत राजेन्द्र कुरुक्षेत्रमभिष्टुतम् ।

पिभ्यो विप्रमुच्यन्ते तद्गताः सर्वजन्तवः ॥

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At one place[65] the *Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa* gives the exact dista *Vinaśana* to Plakṣaprāsravaṇa as 40 *Āśvīna*s or 40 days' journey by hor should make it possible to pinpoint the site once the identification of P sravaṇa[66] with the source of the Ghaggar around Lavasa reserved Pacchad sub-division of district Nahan in Himachal Pradesh[67] is accep it is not possible to exploit this information on account of the uncertai the connotation of the term *Āśvīna*[68] which literally denotes the distanc by a horse in one day. While the *Atharvaveda*[69] makes it equal to 5 Kauṭilya[70] puts it at 5, 7½ or 10 *Yojana*s and Patañjali[71] at 4 or according to the quality and capacity of the horse. 4 *Kroṣa*s or 9 n one *Yojana*[72] and going by the *Atharvaveda*, one *Āśvīna* comes to 5 miles which should appear reasonable as the distance covered by a ho day. The snag, however,, is that the total distance of 40 *Āśvīna*s to 1800 miles from the source of the Ghaggar to its disappearan Hanumangarh-Suratgarh tract which exceeds the actually measured dista miles[73] by far too big a margin to be of any help whatsoever.

A reference to old regional maps offers better hope. *The Gazetteer of India Atlas*[74] shows the confluence of the Ghaggar with a bed of a river that could be none but the Dṛṣadvatī, a couple of sta stream from Hanumangarh and a little above Suratgarh. Anoth map of the Punjab compiled officially in 1863[75] also marks the confluen the same position with a welcome addition of the name of a villa Bhowri just on the site. This would suggest that the river disappea sands a little below this village and somewhat short of Suratgarh which with the conclusions reached above from literary evidence.

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65 xxv, 10.16 :

चतुश्चत्वारिंशदाश्वीनानि सरस्वत्या विनशनात् प्लक्षः प्रास्रवणः...

66 Bharadwaj O. P., " Plakṣaprāsravaṇa ", Paper presented at the A.I.O.C. 1978. The portion relating to identification was added later.

67 *Sirmur Gazetteer*, Simla 1969, p. 11 f.

68 cf. Khan, M. I., *Sarasvatī in Sanskrit Literature*, Ghaziabad 1978, p.

69 vi. 131. 3 :

यद् धावसि त्रियोजनं पञ्चयोजनम् आश्वीनम् ।

70 *Arthaśāstra* ed. R. P. Kangle, Bombay 1970, Prt. i, ii.30.39.....

पञ्चयोजनान्यर्धाष्टमानि दशेति पृष्ठवाहिनामश्वानामध्वा ।

71 *Mahābhāṣya* v. 3. 55 :

अश्वोऽयं यश्चत्वारि योजनानि गच्छति, अश्वतरोऽयं योऽष्टौ योजनानि गच्छति ।

72 Cunningham Alexander, *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta 1924.

73 Wilson, J. op. cit., p. 3.

74 Oxford 1909, Plate 32.

75 In 8 sheets, office of The Surveyor General of India, Calcutta, 1866.

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It would be relevant at this stage to see if these literary sources make any on of the event that led to the disappearance of the Sarasvati which accord- the *Ṛgveda* was the river par excellence, rushing down from the mountains upto the ocean[76] with a tempestuous roar,[77] breaking and carrying down of hills like lotus stems,[78] filling the realms of earth and the wide tract of rmament,[79] superior to her companions,[80] surpassing all other rivers by her ty[81] and glory,[82] fierce,[83] swiftest of the swift,[84] mightiest of her class,[85] best ers,[86] best of mothers[87] and even best of goddesses.[88] There is not a word e *Ṛgveda* that could suggest any decline in this awe-inspiring grandeur of acred river. The *Atharvaveda*,[89] however, alludes to the Great Deluge that place in the time of Manu Vaivasvata in the reference to the " sliding down e ship. " Subsequently the Great Deluge is described in the *Śatapatha maṇa*[90] and later in the *Mahābhārata*[91] and the *Purāṇas*[92] where the site of prabhraṁśana finds mention as Manoravasarpaṇa and Naubandhana intend- represent the mountain peak where Manu tied his boat and first stepped y soil after the calamitous event.

There is reason to conclude that according to traditional belief it was the t Deluge that led to the disappearance of the Sarasvatī in the sands as a

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7. 95.2 : ...यती गिरिभ्य आ समुद्रात् ।

RV, 6.61.8 : अनश्चरति रोरुवत् ।

RV, 6.61.2 : सानु गिरीणां तविषेभिरूर्मिभिः ।

RV, 6.61.11 : आपप्रुषी पार्थिवान्युरु रजो अन्तरिक्षम् ।

RV, 7.95.4 : उत्तरा (सखीभ्यः)

RV, 7.95.1 : महिना सिन्धुरन्याः ।

RV, 6.61.13 : द्युम्नेभिरन्याः ।

RV, 6.61.7 : घोरा ।

RV, 6.61.13 : अपसामपस्तमा ।

RV, 7.96.1 : असुर्या नदीनाम् ।

RV, 2.41.16: नदीतमे ।

RV, 2.41.16 : अम्बितमे ।

RV, 2.41.16 : देवीतमे ;

XIX. 39.8 : यत्र नावप्रभ्रंशनं यत्र हिमवतः शिरः ।...

i.8.1.1.....

तदप्येतदुत्तरस्य गिरेर्म्मनोरवसर्प्पणमित्यौघो ह ताः सर्वाः प्रजाः निरुवाहाऽयेह मनुरेवैकः तल्षे ।

Vana, 185.46-47 : ...नौर्मत्सस्य वचः श्रुत्वा शृंगे हिमवतस्तदा ॥

तच्च नौबन्धनं नाम शृंगं हिमवतः परम् ।...

Nilamata Purāṇa, ed. Vreese K. De, Leiden 1936, vv. 41, 146 and 161.

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result of diversion of its waters and loss of its catchment area. The *Pu* describe the conveying of *Agni-Vaḍavānala* to the western ocean at the in of god Brahmā by his daughter Sarasvatī, who, whenever in need of h account of the unbearable heat, vanished under ground.[94] This would s that the upheaval was volcanic in nature because the water of the river is have flowed red with the rubble thrown up and carried down in the p This finds mention in another form in the story of the Sarasvatī carrying water[95] or water mixed with blood for a complete year[96] as a result of the of Viśvāmitra, who felt annoyed on her failure to deliver *Ṛṣi* Vasiṣtha t Now, significantly, it was not the real Sarasvatī that flowed with blood b own other self named Aruṇā in the *Mahābhārata*[97] and Āgneyī, earlier *Rāmāyaṇa*.[98]

This Aruṇā has been identified with the present Run river[99] which one time the main branch of the river Markanda that crosses the G. T. near the town of Shahbad in district Kurukṣetra about 12 miles from Amb Markanda or Aruṇā was one of the rivers that gained from the diversi Sarasvatī's waters and most probably it emerged in the process as an e new river. This is undoubtedly the meaning of the Sarasvatī followi Mārkaṇḍeya[101] who had, with his own eyes, witnessed the Great Deluge age of Manu Vaivasvata.[102] This reference also clearly connects the di of Sarasvatī's waters with the Great Deluge. The Thanesar Sarasvatī a Sāmbhramatī or the present Somb torrent meeting the Western Jamuna at Dadupur Canal Works were the other rivers that shared Sarasvatī's d

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93 e.g. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa* 17.53 :

समाहूय ततो देवीं स्वां सुतां पद्मसंभवः । उवाच पुत्रि गच्छ त्वं गृहीत्वाग्निं महोदधिम्

94 cf. Dave S. K., "The Sarasvati", *Purāṇa*, Vol. x. No. 1. Jan. 1968. p. 74

95 *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Nāgara Khaṇḍa*, 172, 13 :

यस्मात्पापे वचो मह्यं न कृतं कुनदि त्वया । तस्माद्रक्तप्रवाहस्ते जलजोऽयं भविष्यति ॥

96 *Vāmana Purāṇa*, *Saromāhātmya*, 19.22 :

ततः सरस्वती शप्ता विश्वामित्रेण धीमता । अवहच्छोणितोन्मिश्रं तोयं संवत्सरं तदा ॥

97 *Śalya*, 42.24 (ii) : ...अरुणामानयामास स्वां तनूं भरतर्षभ ॥

98 Cr. ed. Vaidya P. L., Baroda 1962, Vol. II, *Ayodhyā*, 62.10 ff.

ऐलधाने नदीं तीर्त्वा प्राप्य चापरपर्वतान् । शिलामाकुर्वतीं तीर्त्वा आग्नेयीं शल्यकर्षणे ॥

99 Bharadwaj, O. P., "Sutlej to Gaṅgā with Vālmīki", *Vishveshvaranand Journal*, Vol. xiv, Pt. ii (Sept. 1976), p. 197.

100 *Ambala District Gazetteer*, Lahore 1892-93, p. 6.

101 *Vāmana Purāṇa* ed A. S. Gupta, Varanasi 1968, *Saromāhātmya* 11.23 :

प्रत्युवाच महात्मानं मार्कण्डेयं महामुनिम् ।
यत्र त्वं नेष्यसे विप्र तत्र यास्याम्यतन्द्रिता ॥

102 Mbh. *Vana*, 186-187; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 12.8.

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a large portion of which probably started flowing eastward into the also through rivers like the Giri.[104] That is why the Aruṇā-Markanda d only a rainy season torrent with the increase in the importance of the Sthāṇvīśvara, also called Kurukṣetra, the name Sarasvatī was appropriat- he insignificant stream flowing by its side as its common name Prācī i shows.[105] The event, probably a large scale tectonic-seismic upheaval, described as the Deluge, was indeed so gigantic in proportions that it serious changes in the topography of the Shiwaliks between the Yamunā Rāvi and affected the whole of the region along the Sarasvatī lying the Himalayas beyond Nahan on one side and the Rajasthan desert on r. That this event led to the disappearance of the Sarasvatī is specifically in the statement that the river vanished underground on account of the he *Vaḍavānala*[106] which it was made to carry to the ocean.

e story of *Tripuradāha*[106a] by God Śiva also appears to rise from the ckground. Here the firy missile shot by the great god burns down with all its *Asura* population and dumps it into the Western Ocean.[106b] he Sarasvatī that provided the track for his chariot.[106c] The great

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kanda Purāṇa, Nāgara Khaṇḍa, 173.9-14 : The episode described here is very signi- apparently refers to the birth of the Prācī Sarasvatī and the Sāmbhramatī at the as a result of seismic—tectonic upheaval in the region of Sarasvatī's source :

मुक्त्वा स विप्रार्षिरवतीर्य धरातले । गतः प्लक्षतरुं यस्मादवतीर्णा सरस्वती ॥
धिं तत्र संधाय निविष्टा धरणीतले । संभ्रमं परमं गत्वा विश्वामित्रस्य चोपरि ॥
णेन तु मंत्रेण वीक्षयन्वसुधातलम् । ततो निर्भिद्य वसुधां भूरि तोयं विनिर्गतम् ॥
ह्वेन विप्रेन्द्रा लोचनाभ्यां निरीक्षणात् । एकस्य सलिलं क्षिप्रं यत्र जाता सरस्वती ॥
क्षमूले ततस्तस्य वेगेनापहृतं बलात् । तद्रक्तं तेन संपूर्णं ततस्तेन महानदी ॥
तीयस्तु प्रवाहो यः संभ्रमात्तस्य निर्गतः । सा च सांभ्रमती नाम नदी जाता धरातले ॥

joins the Yamunā above Paonta at the village of Rampur ghat. Its unusual name end of its miraculous birth suggests that it might have some connection with the Great *irmur Gazetteer*, Simla 1969. p. 9.

was known as Prācī Sarasvatī till as late as the 9th century A.D.; cf. " Pehoa Inscr. of the Imperial Pratihāra Dynasty ", *Epigraphia Indica*, 1.187, cited by H. C. Ray- *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 129; Also see *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 4.19.1 and *Vāmana romāhātmya*, 21.19.

dma Purāṇa, Sṛṣṭi, 18, 198 :

तं गृहीत्वा सुश्रोणी प्रतीच्यभिमुखी ययौ ।
तर्धानेन संप्राप्ता पुष्करं सा महानदी ॥

Mbh. Karṇa, ch. 24.

Ibid. v. 120 :

क्यसारं तमिषुं मुमोच त्रिपुरं प्रति । तत्सासुरगणं दग्ध्वा प्राक्षिपत्पश्चिमार्णवे ॥

Ibid. v. 75 : (ii).....

विष्टानं मनस्त्वासीत्परिरथ्यं सरस्वती ॥

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magnitude of destruction is implied in the suggestion that *Tripura* a represented not one but a complex of three prosperous *Asura* cities.[106d]

Yet another episode in the *Mahābhārata*,[107] in which the Great appears to find an echo, is that of sage Utathya who drinks off the entire of the ocean on Varuṇa's refusal to return his bride Bhadrā whom the g forcibly abducted. The country is reduced to a desert and Utathya a Sarasvatī to go invisible into it so that, forsaken by her, it becomes inausp

The above analysis of the literary evidence bearing upon the causes disappearance of the Sarasvatī and the location of the site of *Vinaśana* e us to set down the attributes that we may expect to meet in the spot des of identification with it. These attributes would be (i) location on the e bank of the river below the confluence of the Sarasvatī with the Dṛṣadvatī the upper end of the desert (ii) evidence of sacrificial activity and (iii) of the occurrence of a seismic-tectonic upheaval antecedent to the occu of the site.

By a remarkable coincidence archaeological excavations in the relevant to our enquiries have thrown up a site answering all these requir We are referring to the pre-historic site of Kalibangan situated 29°.25′ 74°.5′ E some 310 kms. north-west of Delhi amidst the rolling sand-d northern Rajasthan in the District of Ganganagar. Pilibangan, rough midway between Hanumangarh and Suratgarh[108] on the northern railwa nearest railway station. Kalibangan is on the eastern bank of the G about the northern end of the Rajasthan desert a few miles below the v Malke Bhowri where the Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī meet. Excavations at were carried out by a very competent team consisting of senior office Archaeological Survey of India, including J. P. Joshi, and led by B. K and B. B. Lal.[109] Although a full length report of the excavations

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106-D *Ibid.* v. 14 :

ततो मयः स्वतपसा चक्रे धीमान् पुराणि ह ।
त्रीणि काञ्चनमेकं तु रौप्यं कार्ष्णायसं तथा ॥

107 *Anuśāsana*, 139, 22-26 :

नारदस्य वचः श्रुत्वा क्रुद्धः प्राज्वलदङ्गिराः । अपिबत्तेजसा वारि विष्टभ्य सुमहातपाः
ततस्तदिरिणं जातं समुद्रश्चापसर्पितः । तस्माद्देशान्नदीं चैव प्रोवाचासौ द्विजोत्तमः ॥
अदृश्या गच्छ भीरु त्वं सरस्वति मरुं प्रति । अपुण्य एष भवतु देशस्त्यक्तस्त्वया शुभे

108 It is, by rail, 26 kms. from Hanumangarh (29°, 6N and 74°.30E) on the north, and 25 kms. from Suratgarh (29°. 3N and 73°. 8E) on t

109 For excavation notes see *Indian Archaeology*. 1961-62 p. 39; 1962-63, 1963-64, p. 30 ff.

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both Thapar[110] and Lal[111] have published separate accounts of the hich generally agree in details. We reproduce the relevant portions Lal's articles.

two periods of occupation identified at Kalibangan were named I & II bottom upwards. Period I represents the Proto-Harappan or Early and Period II the Harappan culture. The settlement relating to was in the metropolitan style with two clearcut parts : a citadel to the a lower town to the east. The Citadel Complex is further divisible equal parts, southern and northern, each forming a rhomb on plan and ied by a bipartite wall in between.

e are two entrances to the sourthern rhomb, one each from the south rth. These were either stepped or ramped, which shows that vehicular forbidden from entering the rhomb because the buildings that lay essentially of a religious or ritualistic kind and thus out of reverence were expected to walk within the campus and nor ride about.

re were several mud-brick platforms, oriented along the cardinal direc- each of which there stood a special structure. Although much of these has been denuded over the mellenia by nature and man alike, there ins enough to give an idea of the use to which they were put. Thus, of the platforms there lay a series of seven 'fire-altars' in a row.[112a] ese fire-altars ran a wall in the north-south direction, which shows that d to face the east[112] while performing rituals at these altars. The altars ng on plan, sunk into the ground and lined with clay. Each of them a central stele of baked clay around which lay ash and charcoal. s of biconvex terracotta cakes were also obtained from the series of ile elsewhere at the site, the fire altars contained them in sufficient showing that they formed some kind of an offering. To the west of -altars lay embedded the lower half of a jar containing ash and

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pedition. Vol. 17. no. 2, pp. 19-32; *South Asian Archaeology*, ed. Hammond Norman, 3, p. 85 ff. *Ecology and Archaeology of Western India*, ed. Agrawal and Pande, Delhi -75; *Ancient Cities of the Indus* ed. Possehl, Delhi 1979, pp. 196-203.

tural Forum 34, Vol. ix, No. 4, July 1967. pp. 78-88 (jointly with Thapar); n's Contribution to the Understanding of the Indus Civilisation", *I.I.A.S.* Simla, 77; *Essays in Indian Protohistory* ed. Agrawal and Chakravarti, Delhi, 1979, pp. 65-97.

A *Yajñaśālā* or sacrificial chamber contained several altars on which sacred fires hed. It also provided for different places for the sacrificer, his wife and the officiating R. N. Sharma, *Culture and Civilisation. As Revealed in the Śrautasūtras*, Delhi f.

Vedi was required to face the east. *Agni Purāṇa* 34, 36 :

गां शिरः समाख्यातं बाहू कोणे व्यवस्थितौ ।

तामेयकोणे तं जघे वायव्यनैऋते ॥

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charcoal[113] which was evidently connected with use of the fire-altars. few metres of these altars were a well and a few bath pavements s ablutions before the performance of the ritual—a tradition still in vogu amongst the Hindus.

On another platform lay, besides a well and a 'fire-altar', a larg brick-lined' pit containing antlers and bovine bones providing evidence sacrifice.[114] This idea is strengthened from the engravings on the two terracotta cake. The figure on one side, on the basis of the crown, be that of a deity, while on the other side is an animal tied with a r is held by a human figure. May be this was how the animal was sacrificial altar.

These platforms were separated, one from the other, by pa through which flowed burnt-brick drains. There were no such drains i site. This shows that special care was bestowed on the cleanliness of so that water emanating from the ritual baths did not make the pass The platforms were also separated from the fortification walls. Thus, move around the former if one wished to do so. Access to the top o forms was had by means of steps/ramps some remnants of which we nable.

Besides, there was another area (KLB-3) which was used excl fire-altars. It lay about 80 yards to the east of the Lower Town. T Complex had largely been eroded, a large room with four to five altar identified.

There is also evidence to suggest that the Kalibanganite set ap for the performance of the ritual individually in his own house too.

The fire-altars found within the Citadel Complex may have be congregational rituals or by some privileged people while others used fied and less ostentatious place in KLB-3. Alternately the KLB-3 C have come up at a time when the Citadel Complex was on the wane, last days of Kalibangan.

These facts speak for themselves and leave us in no doubt abo of the cult of sacrifice among the Harappan Kalibanganites. It was a part of their daily life. It is however not necessary to assume altars within the Citadel Complex were used for congregational r

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113 The jar was evidently meant to serve the purpose of *Utkara* or the rubb to be on the western or lower end of the *Vedi*.

114 Traditional sacrifices were 21 in number, divided into three classes Animal sacrifices were regarded as part of the two classes namely Haviryajña Girdhar Sharma Chaturvedi, *Vaidika Vijñāna Aura Bhāratīya Sanskriti*, Patna 1 And Philips Maurice,, *The Teaching of the Vedas*, Reprint, Delhi, 1976, p. 1

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people or that the KLB-3 Complex came up towards the last days of
n. We are of the view that both the sets of fire-altars were used by
barking upon the performance of *sattra*s and the KLB-3 Complex
ame up when the Citadel set was found insufficient for the growing
*Yajamāna*s. Nor is it necessary to attach too much importance to
escribed size and structure of the altars which were probably strictly
only in case of very important sacrifices like Aśvamedha and Vājapeya
r. Kane observes, although the construction of the fire-altar in five
'*aṅga*' of '*Somayāga*', '*cayana*' or the piling of the fire-altar was
ry in every sacrifice.[115] This is clearly suggested by statements in the
themselves. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*,[116] for instance, says that 'All
is the *Vedi*, but they measure off a sacrifice on so much as they deem
e'. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[117] also emphasises that "if one secures
l skilful priests it does not matter what kind of sacrificial ground one
Even in the *Ṛgveda*,[118] much earlier, of course, the quadrangular altar
to as चतुष्कपर्दा युवतिः सुपेशा घृतप्रतीका वयुनानि वस्ते.....यत्र देवा दधिरे भागधेयम्।
to Potdar[119] '*Vayunāni vaste*' suggests that the mode of shaping or
etc. of the *Vedi* was supposed to be changing from time to time or
om region to region. According to an anecdote in the *Śatapatha*
[120] when the gods failed to attain immortality by performing various
they started constructing fire-altars with bricks of different sizes. Still
ot attain immortality. Then they approached Prajāpati who said to
e do not lay down (put on me) all my forms but ye either make me
or leave me defective; therefore, ye do not become immortal". This
point to the late beginning of the practice that restricted bricks to a
ber and the altar to a fixed size before which there were no restrictions
or structure of the *Vedi*.

interesting to note that the *sattra*s were to be performed by many
in groups. According to a text quoted by Śabara on *Jai* vi. 2.1. the
o engaged together in a *sattra* were to be at least 17 and not more

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.D. Vol. II, Pt. ii, p. 1247.

.4 : सा वा इयं सर्वैव वेदिरियति शक्ष्यामीति त्वा अवमाय यजन्ते।

1.5 :
जो हैव देवयजनम्। ये ब्राह्मणा शुश्रुवांसोऽनूचाना
गो याजयन्ति सैवाऽह्वलैतन्नेदिष्ठतमामिव मन्यामहऽइति॥

4.3.

ar K. R., *Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda*, Bombay, 1953, p. 73.

6 : ....अमृतत्वमवरुरुत्समानांस्तान् प्रजापतिरुवाच—न वै मे सर्वाणि रूपाणि उपभ-
त्थाति नैव रेचयथ न वाभ्यापयथ तस्मान्नामृता भवथेति। .....

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than 24.[121] Such a stipulation was eminently justified in case of Ya... view of the dangers and difficulties which must have befallen those perfor... Sārasvata and Dārṣadvata *sattras* upstream along the two rivers while passing through jungles infested by all sorts of predators and thieves and robbers. The hazards involved must have been formidable because no priests were prepared to accompany the sacrificers who were therefore necessarily to be *Brāhmaṇas* so as to be able to act as priests for themselves.[122] Indeed instances of a performer dying after *Dīkṣā* on the way were not unknown as is evident from the provision that in such a case the son or the other very near relative was to be given *Dīkṣā* and associated in the *sattra*.[123] This explains the existence of many fire-altars at Kalibangan. And it is anybody's guess how many more of them might have been in the KLB-3 Complex which had largely been eroded.

Let us now return to the excavator's remarks on the end of the pre-Harappan or period I Kalibangan settlement. Prof. Lal[124] says that at several places in the trenches was observed cleavage-cum-displacement of the strata and walls, which evidently was the result of some earth movement. He considers it most likely that the site was deserted because of an earthquake. Also in his view the occupation of period II did not come into being immediately after the end of period I but about 200 years later. Thapar[125] also subscribes to this view and adds that during the time the site remained abandoned a thin layer of sand, largely infertile and wind-blown accumulated over the ruins.

No more observations upon the extent or intensity of the seismic activity that destroyed the Pre-Harappan phase of Kalibangan are available but whatever has been said is enough to justify the conclusion that it came in the form of a catastrophic earthquake that rendered the country uninhabitable for a couple of centuries and must inevitably have involved terrible damage to life and property. Nor is there any reason to believe that its impact was confined to the region of Kalibangan. Prof. Lal himself admits elsewhere[125A] the possibility of a tectonic movement involving the divide between the Indus and Gaṅgā systems and accounting for the drying up of the Ghaggar as a result of the diversion of

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121 *H.O.D.*, Vol. II, Pt. ii, p. 1241.

122 *Ibid.*

123 *Ibid.*, p. 1242.

124 1979, p. 75.

125 1973, p. 85 and 1979, p. 198.

125-A "A Deluge? Which Deluge? Yet Another Facet of Problem of the Copper Hoard Culture" *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 70, 1968, pp. 857-863; Abstracts reproduced in *Purātattva* No. 5, 1971-72. pp. 101-104. For opposition to the possibility of a deluge in the Gaṅgā O.C.W. age, see R. P. Sharma in *Ecology and Archaeology of Western India*, Delhi 1977, pp. 75-77. Shri Agrawal R. C. Director, Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, informs the author that O.C.W. sites in Rajastan have been dated to 3000 B.C. In this situation the date of Gaṅgā O.C.W. deserves re-examination.

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e of its tributaries to the Yamunā as well as for the discovery of the water-deposits of Ochre Ware preceding the Painted Grey Ware at the archaeo-ical sites like Hastinapur, Ahichhatra, Bahadarabad, Nasirpur, Jhinjhina and anjikhera in the Gaṅgā basin. Strangely enough instead of identifying this onic movement with the seismic activity that hit the Pre-Harappan Kalibangan und 3000 B.C. as justified by the evidence examined above, he confines it to region of the sources of these rivers where the Ghaggar and Yamunā basins e close to each other and places it about the first half of the second ennium B.C. so as to synchronise with the desertion of the site of Harappan bangan as a result of the drying up of the Ghaggar and with the supposed date of the Gaṅgā basin O.C.W. sites. It is however self-contradictory to talk of a tectonic movement involving the expansive divide between the Indus and the Gaṅgā systems confined only to the region of their sources. It is also to be remembered that literary evidence supports fierce tectonic activity extensively involving the whole course of the river Sarasvatī and its valley and not the Gaṅgā system which hasn't thrown up any positive proof of widespread seismic upheaval like the one that destroyed Pre-Harappan Kalibangan. Neither have the courses of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā suffered any major changes at any stage in their known history.

It is interesting to note that Raikes[126] also reports a marked coastal uplift along the northern flank of the Arabian Sea about the Harappan times which according to him, might have been more extensive so as to cover even the Indus Valley. It has been rightly suggested that these earth-movements also embraced the region further north-east to the Simla foothills across the Thar and the Indo-Gangetic divide[127] and upraised the entire bed of the Sarasvatī and the floor of the sea of its confluence.[128] They might indeed be even more wide-spread because Sir, Leonard Woolley[129] also found at Ur in Masopotamia indubitable roof of a flood which must have engulfed all the cities in the delta sometime fore 3000 B.C. The significance of the synchronism and of the identical nature the event can hardly be overemphasised and it is no more possible to dismiss e story of the Great Flood as a myth now that its literary evidence finds full pport in the concrete testimony of independent archaeological discoveries at ferent places.

The combined effect of all this evidence makes it appear most probable t the earth-movement postulated by Lal at Kalibangan and by Raikes along northern flank of the Arabian Sea was the same fierce seismic-tectonic up-val in the north that, according to literary sources, wrought extensive changes

126 Cited by Wheeler, *Ancient India*, No. 3, (Calcutta 1947), pp.5 8-130.

127 Bhan Suraj, *Journal of Haryana Studies*, January, 1969, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 10.

128 Indras, op. cit. Preface, p. iii, Indras erroneously places the event around 1500 B.C.

129 *Ur Excavations, The Early Periods*, 1958, p. 18.

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in the topography of the Shiwalik belt between the Yamunā and the Ravi resulting in the diversion of the waters of the Sarasvatī leading to its ultimate drying up around *Vinaśana*. The connection of the event that destroyed the pre-Harrappan settlement at Kalibangan with the Deluge of Manu is thus too striking to be taken lightly.

The location of Kalibangan therefore satisfies all the attributes that we set out to find in the site of *Vinaśana*. It is located on the eastern bank of the Sarasvatī below its confluence with the Dṛṣadvatī about the upper end of the desert of Rajasthan. And finally it also provides ample evidence of sacrificial activity as well as of the occurrence of a fierce seismic-tectonic upheaval antecedant to the occupation of the site. Only linguistically, there is nothing common between the names Kalibangan and *Vinaśana*. This, however, is not material to the conclusion justified by weighty geographical and historical factors in view of the fact that the name of Kalibangan, meaning 'black bangles', is obviously of recent origin, apparently given to the place on account of scattered prehistoric remains abounding in bangle-pieces after the old name was lost and forgotten.

Now during their long and arduous upstream march along the Sarasvatī and Dṛṭadvatī the sacrificers stopped at convenient points some of which, like *Vinaśana*, must have developed sacrificial complexes having paved fire-altars.[130] Discovery of further evidence of sacrificial activity, similar to that found at Kalibangan and assignable to the same date will, therefore, certainly strengthen the proposed identification of *Vinaśana*. Unfortunately the shape and structure of a 5000 year old fire-altar would be so akin to the mutilated flooring of a room that it might easily go undetected unless spotted by a really competent expert. And sadly enough no other site upstream along the Sarasvatī or the Dṛsadvatī was excavated by any senior officer of the Survey, familiar with the Kalibangan fire-altars. So when out of the four other imporant pre-historic sites of Banawali on the Ghaggar and Sothi, Siswal aud Rakhigarhi on the Dṛṣadvatī, no fire-altars were reported from the first three, we cannot rule out the possibility that they might have gone undetected by the excavators. This point is easily brought home by their existence at the last site of Rakhi Garhi where too they would have gone unnoticed but for a chance visit subsequently by Prof. Lal.[131] Situated 29°.16 N and 76°.10 E in the Hansi Tehsil of Hisar district, 190 kms. east of Kalibangan, 80 kms. east of Banawali and 130 kms. in the north-west of Delhi, Rakhi Garhi, also known as Rakhi-Shahpur. lies on the dry bed of the Dṛṣad-

130 The *Sūtras* name several places like Prabhavyamarma at the confluence of the Sarasvati and the Dṛṣadvatī Naitandhava near the Sarasvatī and Kārapacava on the Yamunā apart from Pariṇah, Plakṣaprāsravaṇa and *Vinaśana* in this connection but barring the last two, none of these has been identified so far. See Ram Gopal, op. cit., p. 101.

131 Bhan Suraj, *Excavation At Mitathal*, Kurukshetra 1975, p. 96.

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It is supposed to be the most extensive of the known Harappan sites in ...id deemed worthy of being considered as a possible easternmost capital ...Harappans.[133] The evidence of sacrificial activity at Rakhi Garhi, there- ...comes as a most valuable confirmation of the performance of *sattras* as ...bed in the *Brāhmaṇa*s and *Śrautasūtra*s at the Harappan settlements along ...asvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī.

...is conclusion provides us with a reliable sheet-anchor for fixing the age ...mposition of some important classes of Vedic literature.

...owing dates have been assigned to the two levels of settlements excava- ...bangan on the basis of C 14 readings.

Perd. I—Pre-Harappan

	Uncorrected	Corrected after Dales[134]	Corrected after Ralph, Michael & Han,[135]
	2400-2250	2950-2800	29/2960-2700/2820
	2450-2300	3000-2850	2970/2990-2850/2870

Perd II—Harappan

...al.	2200-1700	2700-1900	2630/2670-2060
Thapar.	2300-1750	2850-1950	2850/2870/2110

Keeping in view the fact that the C 14 dating method is not yet considered entirely fool-proof,[136] one cannot afford to be dogmatic about these date-brackets. However even if they are taken at their face value one can safely place the end of the pre-Harappan phase around 3000 B.C. at the latest,[137] as a result of the Great Deluge that took place in the time of Manu Vaivasvata.[138] Giving about 200 years for the gap between the Deluge and the re-emergence of

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132 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

133 *Ibid.*,

134 Dales, George F. in *South Asian Archaeology*, ed. Hammond Norman, London 1973, p. 162 ff. and in *Ancient Cities of the Indus* ed. Possehl Gregoryl. Delhi 1979, pp. 332-338, p. 336.

135 Ralph B. K., Michael H. N. and Han M; in *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, pp. 339-342. Table 4.

136 *Ibid.*, p. 339. One of the basic assumptions of the C 14 method namely the constancy of the atmospheric inventory of C14 O2 is not strictly valid. For various reasons it has fluctuated during past times. Also cf. Ward Anne, *Adventures in Archaeology*, London, 1977, p. 15.

137 The contention of Indras (op. cit.p. 52) that the decay of Sarasvatī had already set in before the advent of the Vedic people is unwarranted.

138. Manu Vaivasvata has been assigned to 4000 B.C. by N. N. Law, *Age of the Rgveda*, Calcutta 1965, p. 143, and to 3000 B.C. by P. L. Bhargava, *India in the Vedic Age*, Luknow 1956 p. 133. and A. D. Pusalkar, *The Vedic Age*, London, 1951. p. 269. who calculates it to 3110 B.C. The date 3000 B.C. which closely approaches the traditional beginning of the Kali Age in 3102 B. C. would appear to be more reasonable.

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settlement at Kalibangan we can put the beginning of the Harappan phase a[illegible]n 2800 B.C. and its end around 2100 B.C. Allowing a couple of centuries for th[illegible] development of the sacrificial cult in its Brāhmaṇic details the appearanee [illegible] *Vinaśana* as an important religious centre should have taken place by 2500 B.C[illegible] at the latest.

Application of these dates to the works falling in the category of Ved[illegible] literature leads to interesting results. Being ante-Deluvian, the *Ṛgveda* has [illegible] be placed anterior to 3000 B.C. which becomes the lower age limit. It is n[illegible] possible to fix any upper age limit. The *Ṛgveda* would thus represent a pr[illegible] Harappan civilization. The *Atharvaveda* and the other *Saṁhitās* were probab[illegible] compiled/composed not long after the Deluge and might have come into exis[illegible] ence by 2700[139] B.C. in the early period of the Harappan phase. The *Aitare[illegible]* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* should follow suit because while they know abou[illegible] the disappearance of the Sarasvati they do not mention *Vinaśana* by name. Th[illegible] composition of the remaining *Brāhmaṇas* led by the *Pañcaviṁśa* can be assigned to the middle of the Harappan phase and that of the *Āraṇyakas*, *Upaniṣads* and *Śrautasūtras* to its final stage ending around 2000 B.C. and thereafter.

We may close with the observation that the age assigned to the *Ṛgveda* above appears to be moving closer to the postulates of Tilak[140] and Jacobi[141] on the basis of evidence which is at once independent and reliable and being taken into account for the first time.[142]

139. cf. N. K. Sastri, *New light On The Indus Civilisation*, Delhi 1965, Vol, ii. p. 142. According to Sastri, conditions of life envisaged in the *Atharvaveda* are very much in accord with [illegible] under which people lived in the Indus valley some 5000 years ago while the *Ṛgveda* is much old[illegible] than the Indus Civilisation.

140. Tilak first placed the Vedic period at about 4000 B.C., See '*The Orion*', Poona 189[illegible] p. 220. Later in the '*Arctic Home In The Vedas*' (1903) he pushed it back to 5000 B.C.

141. According to Jacobi, Vedic civilisation flourished from 4500 B.C. to 2500 B.C., *Indi[illegible] Antiquary*, June 1894 p. 157.

142. For a fresh examination of the date of the composition of the *Ṛgveda* see N. N. La[illegible] op. cit. Law supports the views of Tilak and Jacobi. p. 143. ff.

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ON THE LOCATION OF HASTINĀPURA

By

ARUNKUMAR*

radition identifies the series of mounds located to the west of the river
Fin Mawana tehsil of district Meerut, U.P., as the site of ancient Hastinā-
the Great Epic. This identification has gained so much currency and
s acceptence that in 1950-52 the Archaeological Survey of India excavat-
the site and Sri B. B. Lal, claiming to have found the vestiges of the Epic
re, interpreted the stratigraphy of the site in the light of the epic-traditional
ry.[1] But Prof. Lal has an unconditional faith in traditions : after having
d the sites traditionally associated with the *Mahābhārata*, he is currently
ating those that are, again, traditionally associated with the story of
iyaṇa.[2] But the folk-memory is at best only precarious and the traditions
ding place-name or any actual site are more often than not suggestive only
e folks' acceptence of the story and not necessarily of the veracity of the
spot thus indicated. The case of Dilmun of the early Mesopotamian
s, for instance, is Brāhm this regard : though originally a land of the
sun and a verita Nāva in the east,[3] it came, owing to the altered
al realities, eventu ed toocated in the tiny island of Bahrain.[4] This
to suggest that th on ditions, like the myths, are " the historical
of the bygone age " e the folk memory of the past events, their
le is not always confir Greallace of the occurrence and is, in all likeli-
d, liable to be shifted (o shifting) with the folks responsible for
ping it alive. Therefore, 76, pting the traditional locale of Hastinā-
a as historically correct we uld first seek necessarily to confirm its veracity
analysing and scrutinising the internal evidence of the very text from which
tradition seems to derive its inspiration.

As early as December 1976, Shri S. B. Roy had aired his scepticism about currently accepted tradition. At that time, he had pointed out that in the *parva*, while a lot of movement from Hastināpura to the battlefield i.e. Kuru-

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* 22, The Mall, Agra–282 001.

1 Lal B. B., " Excavations at Hastināpura and other explorations in the Upper Ganga Sutlej Basins 1950-52 ", *Ancient India*, Nos. 10-11, 1954-55, pp. 8-9 and 147-49 and ' Pro- ns of Indian Archaeology ', *Purātattva*, No. 8, 1975-76, pp. 128-29.

2 Lal B. B., *Rāma Kathānaka Sambandhi Sthalon Kā Purātāttvika Anveṣaṇa*—a pamphlet 91 March, 1975 in connection with the excavations at Ayodhyā.

3 ramer S. N., " Dilmun: Quest for Paradise ", *Antiquity*, XXXVII, 1963, pp. 111-115.

4 runkumar, " On the Location of Dilmun ", *J.O.I.* (*B*)., XXI: 4, 1972, pp. 348-50.

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kṣetra and back is recorded, not even once the river Yamunā is stated crossed and urged upon the author to collate the evidence from the *Mahābh* and to ascertain the veracity of the current tradition. In the following therefore, an attempt is made to collect and only study those Mahābhār references[5] that have some bearing on the location of Hastināpura and cer not to try to alter the tradition or to create a new one.

To begin with Roy's criterion, it is well-taken and would have been potent in the normal circumstances. But as it is, it has got at least a nega value. In the *Mahābhārata* where hundreds of persons are always on the throughout the length and breadth of the country, the passage at rivers and crossing is always only implied and never categorically mentioned unless either a *tīrtha* or the scene or some important event. For the narrators of Epic only the points of start and the destination are important and all the dis tions on the way are omitted to be only guessed by the imaginative and kn audiences. Thus, for instance, when Kṛṣṇa goes to the Kuru capital on mission of peace and returns unfulfilled, only Upaplavya, Vṛkasthala and Hā nāpura are mentioned and the Yamunā, which would have been crossed capital was the same as the one at present, is not mentioned.[6] Again D while returning disenchanted from the court of Drupada in Pāñcāla to Has pura, is also not stated to have crossed any river.[7] Likewise the *Pāṇḍavas*, going to the Kuru-capital for participating in the ill-fated gambling match also not made to cross any river.[8] Therefore the non-mention of the Yamunā in *Striparva*, or for that matter in any of the other *parvans* belongi the earliest stratum of the *Mahābhārata*, is well within the reasonable boun probability. In the later books, however, only a couple of references se suggest otherwise. Thus, when the *Pāṇḍavas* are said to have moved banks of the river Gaṅgā in order to reach Kurukṣetra and Kāmyaka they a said to have gone only in a westerly direction across the rivers Yamuna Dṛṣadvatī and Sarasvatī.[9] Again, when getting anxious about the welfare

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5 All the passages quoted or referred are from the *Critical Edition*, Bhandarkar Orient Research Institute, Poona-4.

6 V. 82.20 : *Vṛkasthalaṁ samāsādya Keśavaḥ.....*, *prakīrṇaraśmāvādityo vima lohitāyati.*

Ibid., 87.1, 5 :

prātarutthāya Kṛṣṇastu... prayayau nagaraṁ prati. 1

Droṇena Dhārtarāṣṭraiśca tairvṛto nagaraṁ yayau. 5

Ibid., 135.27, 30 :

tato niryāya nagarāt prayayau Puruṣottamaḥ,..... 27

ucchaiḥ sūryam Upaplavyaṁ Śārṅgadhanvānam āvahan. 30

7 I.122.11.

8 II.52.20-22.

9 III.6.1-3 :

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ṛtarāṣṭra in the forest, Yudhiṣṭhira went to see him in his *āśrama* in Kurutra only after crossing the river Yamunā.[10] To our knowledge these are the y references that mention the river Yamunā in between the Kurukṣetra and stināpura. But, in view of the general tendency of the narrators of the Epic noted above, these appear to be deliberate explanations and make us vary of ir veracity; they seem only to be palpable forgeries interpolated to justify the sequent transference of Hastināpura from somewhere in the Kurukṣetra to its t on the river Gaṅgā.

However, there are certain other and weightier considerations that make present location of Hastināpura suspect. It is beyond doubt that the *ravas*—both the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra as well as of Pāṇḍu—had descended m Kuru, who, though made in the Epic tradition the son of *Saṁvaraṇa* and *patī*,[11] is, in fact, the same as *Kuruśravaṇa* of the *Ṛgveda*.[12] It was after him t the Kurujāṅgala and Kurukṣetra were so named.[13] In all likelihood, therefore, Kuru was the first to settle in this area and to have brought the land under tivation.[14] This land of Kurujāṅgala and Kurukṣetra has always—even in the y latest additions to the Epic—been said to be the ancestral kingdom of the

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Pāṇḍavāstu vanevāsam uddiśya Bharatarṣabhāḥ,
prayayur Jāhnavīkūlāt Kurukṣetraṁ sahānugāḥ I
SarasvatīDṛṣadvatyau Yamunāṁ ca niṣevya te,
yayurvanenaiva vanaṁ satataṁ paścimāṁ diśam. 2
tataḥ Sarasvatīkūle sameṣu marudhanvasu,
Kāmyakaṁ nāma dadṛśur vanaṁ munijanapriyam. 3

XV. 30.14, 16-17 :
nadītireṣu ramyeṣu saratsu ca viśāṁ pate,
vāsān kṛtvā krameṇātha jagmuste Kurupuṅgavāḥ. 14
tato Yudhiṣṭhiro rājā Kurukṣetram avātarat,
krameṇottīrya Yamunāṁ nadīṁ paramapāvanīm. 16
sa dadarśāśramaṁ dūrād rājarṣestasya dhīmataḥ 17

11 I. 89.42 :
tataḥ Saṁvaraṇāt Saurī suṣuve Tapatī Kurum.
., 90.40 :
Saṁvaraṇaḥ khalu Vaivasvatīṁ Tapatīṁ nāmopayeme,
tasyām asya jajñe Kuruḥ.

12 Pusalker A. D., "Kuruśravaṇa and Kuru Saṁvaraṇa"—in: *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas*, Bombay 1955, pp. 42-48.

13 I. 89.43 :
tasya nāmnābhivikhyātaṁ pṛthivyāṁ Kurujāṅgalam,
Kurukṣetraṁ sa tapasā puṇyaṁ cakre mahātapāḥ.

14 IX. 52.4 :
purā kila Kurūṁ Rāma kṛṣantaṁ satatotthitam,
abhyetya Śakras tridivāt paryapṛcchata kāraṇam.

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Kurus.[15] Further, when Dhṛtarāṣṭra decided to go to forest, the people of Kurujāṅgala assembled to hear him and on hearing of his decision they all we

The territorial limits of this jungle and land of the *Kurus*,[17] famed as a pa cularly sacred country in the *Brāhmaṇas*, can be deduced from the mention of boundaries in both the *Brāhmaṇas* and the Epic. While from the *Ṛgveda*[18] understood that the rivers Dṛṣadvatī, Sarasvatī and Āpayā flowed through it, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* defines its boundaries as being Parīṇah in the west, Tūrgh in the north and Khāṇḍava in the south.[19] The epic, on the other hand, appe to limit it within Tarantuka, Arantuka, Rāmahrada and Macakruka.[20] In its this definition is not very helpful; except the currently known Rāmahrada no of the three other places can satisfactorily be identified. However, at anoth place Kurukṣetra is defined as "the land between the rivers Sarasvatī on t north and Dṛṣadvatī on the south"[21]; this may also mean "the land between th rivers Sarasvatī on the north and Dṛṣadvatī on the south in Kurukṣetra". Any how, on the basis of the evidence at hand this much at least can be said that th ancient Kurukṣetra comprised roughly the parts of the modern districts Bhatinda, Hisar, Sangrur, Karnal and Patiala.

At one place, it is said that, after the birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu a Vidura, the *Kurus*, the Kurukṣetra and the Kurujāṅgala had a spell of u precedented prosperity[22]; the statement made a little below in the same conte seems to suggest that while the Kurujāṅgala was a bigger territorial entit

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15 V. 53.7 : *pitryaṁ rājyaṁ mahārāja Kuravaste sajāṅgalāḥ,*..... cf. XII. 38.23 : *rāṣṭra te Kurujāṅgalam.*

16 XV. 13.13-21; 15.6.

17 *Ś.B.*, IV. 1.5.13 : *Kurukṣetrémī devā yajñaṁ tanvate*; cf. *ibid.*, XIV. 1.1.2 : *tes Kurukṣetram devayajanamāsa.* and also *A.B.*, III. 19.

18 *R.V.*, III. 23.4 :

ni tvā dadhe vara ā pṛthivyā Ilāyāspade sudinatve ahnām,
Dṛṣadvatyāṁ Mānuṣa Āpayāyāṁ Sarasvatyāṁ revadagne didihi.

19 *T.Ā.*, V. 1.1—*Oṁ devā vai satramāsata*; *teṣāṁ Kurukṣetraṁ vedirāsīt*; *tasyai Khāṇ dakṣiṇārdha āsīt*; *Tūrghnam uttarārdhaḥ*; *Pariṇaj jaghanārdhaḥ*; *Makha Utkaraḥ.*

20 III. 81.178 (= IX.52.20):

Tarantuk Ārantukayor yadantaraṁ
Rāmahradānāṁ ca Macakrukasya ca,
etat Kurukṣetrasamantapañcakaṁ
pitāmahasy ottaravedirucyate.

21 *Ibid.*, 81.175 :

dakṣiṇena Sarasvatyā uttareṇa Dṛṣadvatīm,
ye vasanti Kurukṣetre te vasanti Triviṣṭape.

22 I. 102.1 :

teṣu triṣu kumāreṣu jāteṣu Kurujāṅgalam,
Kuravo'tha Kurukṣetraṁ trayam etad avardhata.

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mprising Kurukṣetra, its capital was Gajasāhvaya.[23] Elsewhere, too, Hastinā-ra is mentioned as the capital of the *Kurus*.[24] Again, when after the death Pāṇḍu, Kuntī, reaching the country of the Kurujāṅgala, arrives at the rdhamānpura gate of its capital, the citizens of Nāgapura, were astonished.[25] hile going to *āśramavāsa*, Dhṛtarāṣṭra had also gone out of this gate.[26] As it as the metropolitan town, it should necessarily have been within the territorial nits—if not in the heart—of the country which was due north of the Khāṇḍava e. the Delhi region. On this point, too, the current tradition, which places the pital of the *Kurus* far beyond the territorial limits of the Kurujāṅgala/Kuruṣetra, the east of the Khāṇḍava, on the Gaṅgā, becomes highly suspect.

In the *Mahābhārata*, Hastināpura is variously called as Gajasahvaya, āraṇasāhvaya, Nāgasahvaya and Nāgapura—all the words being the common enominations for "the city of the elephants". As regards the origin of the ty or of its name, it is said to have been named so because it was founded by astin.[27] The genealogical position of Hastin, inspite of the well-meaning and instaking efforts of Pargiter,[28] Pusalkar[29] and Bhargava,[30] still remains as wildering as ever. The two genealogies given in the *Mahābhārata* —one short *Ādiparva* 89) and the other long (*Ibid.*, 90)—do not help in resolving the nfusion ; on the contrary, they rather enhance it. However it can at least be ferred that Hastin, if at all historical—he is mentioned only in the longer list, as only a close ancestor of Kuruśravaṇa (and not Kuru, son of Saṁvaraṇa), eing removed only about three generations from him. Matināra and his son aṁsu, the 6th and 5th in ascent from Hastin, are connected with the river arasvatī.[31] Further Saṁvaraṇa, the supposed father of Kuru (or Kuruśravaṇa imself), the 3rd in descent from Hastin, was pushed out of perhaps his above

23 *Ibid.*, 102.22 :
.....deśānāṁ Kurujāṅgalam.....purāṇāṁ Gajasāhvayam.

24 *Ibid.*, 94.10 : *sa Hastināpure ramye Kurūṇāṁ puṭabhedane.*

25 *Ibid.*, 117.8, 9 :
sā na dirgheṇa kālena saṁprāptā Kurujāṅgalam,
Vardhamānapuradvāram āsasāda yaśasvinī. 8
śrutvā Nāgapure nṛṇāṁ vismayaḥ samajāyata. 9

26 XV. 22.13 : *sa Vardhamānadvāreṇa niryayau Gajasāhvayāt,.....*

27 I. 90.36 :
Suhotraḥ khalvikṣvāku kanyām upayeme Suvarṇāṁ nāma; tasyām asya jajñe Hastī; idaṁ Hastināpuraṁ māpayāmāsa; etadasya Hastināpuratvam.

28 Pargiter F. E., *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Delhi, 1972, pp. 110 ff.

29 Pusalker A. D., "Historical Traditions", in—Majumdar R. C. and Pusalker A.D, ed.), *The Vedic Age*, London, 1952, pp. 267-318.

30 Bhargava P. L., *India in the Vedic Age*, Lucknow, 1956, pp. 45. ff.

31 I. 90.25-26 :
Matināraḥ khalu Sarasvatyāṁ dvādaśavārṣikaṁ satramājahāra-25; *nivṛtte ca satre arasvatyabhigamya taṁ bhartāraṁ varayāmāsa; tasyāṁ putram ajanayat Taṁsuṁ nāma*-26.

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mentioned ancestral kingdom by his collateral *Pāñcāla*s and took refuge settlement on the river Sindhu near the hills, where he had to remain pretty long time.[32] This association of the rivers Sarasvatī and Sindhu wit almost immediate predecessors and successors of Hastin also shows tha latter could not have been far removed from those places and it is highly probable that his capital was far beyond his ancestral kingdom on the Saras

Further, after their attempted burning at Vāraṇāvata and their subseq marriage to Kṛṣṇā, the daughter of Drupada of Pāñcāla, the *Pāṇḍava*s went Hastināpura,[33] where Dhṛtarāṣṭra is reported to have asked them to take the h of the kingdom and live at Kh ṇḍava so that further troubles may not recu In the Khāṇḍavaprastha the *Pāṇḍava*s laid out their new city—Indraprastha far from the river Yamunā.[35] In itself it was a laudable measure. But we kn that Khāṇḍavaprastha was to the south and outside the Kurujāṅgala—t ancestral land of the *Kuru*s, and therefore, supposing the present location Hastināpura on the Gaṅgā as correct, it would be politically inexpedient to ha a collateral and an enimical branch midway between the major portion of t kingdom and its capital. It may, however, be argued that this was done wit view to keep the *Pāṇḍava*s away from the *Pāñcāla*s—their new allies and antagonists of the *Kuru*s; but this end would rather have been achieved mo judiciously by assigning them the north-western half of the kingdom and placi them beyond Parīṇah in the west or Tūrghna in the north. This apparent politic folly could, therefore, be straightened out only by assuming that the moder Hastināpura is a late transference of the name and that the original site for th Kuru capital lay somewhere to the north and west of the river Yamunā in th Kurujāṅgala itself.

The evidence presented above must have by now made it clear that so thing is gravely wrong with the current identification of the Kuru capital wit

32 *ibid.*, 89.34-35 :

rājā saṁvaraṇastasmāt palāyata mahābhayāt. 34
Sindhornadasya mahato nikuñje nyavasattadā,
nadīviṣayaparyante parvatasya samīpataḥ,
tatrāvasan bahūn kālān Bhāratā durgamāśritāḥ. 35

33 *Ibid.*, 199.11 :

savihāraṁ sukhaṁ jagmurnagaraṁ Nāgasāhvayam.

34 *Ibid.*, 199.24-25 : *punarvo vigraho mā bhūt.....* 24
na ca vo vasatastatra kaścicchaktaḥ prabādhitum,
ardhaṁ rājyasya saṁprāpya Khāṇḍavaprastham āviśa..... 25

35 *Ibid.*, 199.28-35 :

nagaraṁ māpayāmāsur dvaipāyanapurogamāḥ. 28
tatra Triviṣṭapasaṁkāśam Indraprasthaṁ vyarocata. 35
ibid., 213.57 :
uvāsa nagaraṁ ramye Śakraprasthe mahāmanāḥ,
vyacarad Yamunākūle Pārthena saha Bhārata.

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e on the Gaṅgā and that we should seek it, on the contrary, somewhere in the urukṣetra itself. Hereafter, therefore, we will present the evidence from the rious books that admittedly belong to the earliest stratum of the *Mahābhārata* Epos.

When setting out on his mission of peace, Kṛṣṇa is said to have left paplavya early in the morning[35] and reached Vṛkasthala on the way in the ening where he stopped for the night; (see supra note 6). When his arrival Vṛkasthala became known to Dhṛtarāṣṭra in Hastināpura, he is said to have marked that now Kṛṣṇa would arrive here in the morning.[37] This whole isode seems to suggest that the Kuru capital was nearer to Upaplavya than y site on the river Gaṅgā could ever be. In an earlier context, Saṁjaya, too, said to have reached Hastināpura from Upaplavya within only a short time as , being an insider, had no need to pass the night elsewhere.[38]

Again when the attempts at peace had failed and the war had become minent, Duryodhana ordered for "the making of the camps in the Kuruk-ra" and for 'making the pathways level outside the capital'.[39] When the ole complex was ready as desired, it is said that the two entities were so close gether that even the discerning citizens failed to say where the one ended and e other began.[40] It is probably because of this closeness between the two that e comings and goings of Saṅjaya from the battlefield i.e. Kurukṣetra to ṛtarāṣṭra in Hastināpura and back seem to read like the description of only e complete and continuous movement.[41] This can perhaps be better appreciat-if read along with the similar passages occurring in both the *Droṇa* and the

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36 V. 81.6, 29 :
tato vyapete tamasi Sūrye vimale udgate,
maitre muhūrte saṁprāpte mṛdvarciṣi Divākare. 6
pūjitaḥ prayayau Kṛṣṇaḥ Kurūṇāṁ sadanaṁ prati. 29

37 *Ibid.*, 84.1 :
Upaplavyādiha Kṣattarupayāto Janārdanaḥ,
Vṛkasthale niyasati sa ca prātar iheṣyati.

38 *Ibid.*, 32.1, 2 :
anujñātaḥ Pāṇḍavena prayayau Saṁjayastadā..... 1
saṁprāpya Hāstinapuraṁ śighraṁ ca praviveśa ha,
antaḥpuram upāsthāya dvāḥsthaṁ vacanamabravīt. 2

39 *Ibid.*, 150.14, 16 :
śibirāṇi Kurukṣetre kriyantāṁ vasudhādhipāḥ,..... 14
samāśca teṣāṁ panthānaḥ kriyantāṁ nagarād bahiḥ,..... 16

40 *Ibid.*, 196.13 :
na viśeṣaṁ vijānanti purasya śibirasya vā,
kuśalā api rājendra narā nagaravāsinaḥ.

41 VI. 14.1-2 :
atha..... samarādetya Saṁjaya pratyakṣadarśi sarvasya..... 1
dhyāyate Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya...ācaṣṭa nihataṁ Bhīṣmaṁ..... 2

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Karṇa Parvans, where he is said to have left the battlefield in the evening reached the Kuru capital Hastināpura – the night halt.[42]

In the following book there occurs a vivid description of the confusion prevailed as a sequel to the death of Śalya, the last generalissimo of the defen in the open war. In this general confusion even Saṁjaya was captured and to be executed when the timely arrival and intervention of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāya secured his release and saved his life.[43] Thereafter, relieved of his armour weapons and permitted to go free, Saṁjaya left for the Kuru capital in evening.[44] After going for about a couple of miles, he met Duryodhana[45] wh after giving Saṁjaya the last message for his parents, entered and hid himself the Dvaipāyana lake. At that time the three remaining warriors of the *Kaura* side viz., Kṛpācārya, Aśvatthāmā and Kṛtavarmā arrived.[46] After having hea the news from Saṁjaya and fearing the approach of the pursuing *Pāṇḍavas*, th took Saṁjaya with them to the camp where on the approach of the dusk t wardens were in panic.[47] This panic led to the general stampede towards t capital which prompted Yuyutsu to escort the royal harem to the capital. H took the women on fast moving chariots and reached Hastināpura some ti after the sun had set and saw Vidura,[48] who on learning the course of the s

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42 VII. 1.7 :
śibirāt Saṁjayaṁ prāptaṁ niśi Nāgāhvayaṁ puram,
Āmbikeyo mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭro'nvapṛcchata.
and VIII. 1.25-26 :
hate Karṇe mahārāja niśi.....dīno yayau Nāgapuram. 25
sa Hastināpuraṁ gatvā...jagāma Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya kṣayaṁ. 26

43 IX. 28.37 :
tamāgamya mahāprājñaḥ Kṛṣṇa dvaipāyano'bravīt,
mucyatāṁ Saṁjayo jīvanna hantavyaḥ kathaṁcana.

44 *Ibid.*, 28.39 :
anujñātastvahaṁ tena nyastavarmā nirāyudhaḥ,
prātiṣṭhaṁ yena nagaraṁ sāyāhne rudhirokṣitaḥ.

45 *Ibid.*, 28.40 :
krośamātram apakrāntaṁ gadāpāṇim avasthitam,
ekaṁ Duryodhanaṁ rājannapaśyaṁ bhṛśavikṣatam.

46 *Ibid.*, 28.53 :
tasminhradaṁ praviṣṭe tu trīn rathān śrāntavāhanān,
apaśyaṁ sahitānekastaṁ deśaṁ samupeyuṣaḥ.

47 *Ibid.*, 28.60-62 :
te tu tatra ciraṁ kālaṁ vilapya ca mahārathāḥ,
prādravan rathināṁ śreṣṭhā dṛṣṭvā Pāṇḍusutān raṇe. 60
te tu māṁ rathamāropya..., senāniveśam ājagmur..... 61
tatra gulmāḥ paritrastāḥ sūrye cāstamite sati,..... 62

48 *Ibid.*, 28.75, 81-82 :
tasmiṁstadā vartamāne vidrave bhṛśadāruṇe,
Yuyutsuḥ śokasaṁmūḍhaḥ prāptakālam acintayat. 75

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nts, asked Yuyutsu to rest for the night there itself and to meet Yudhiṣṭhira y on the next morning.[49] Saṁjaya, however, reached Hastināpura only on the t morning.[50]

After the fall of Duryodhana in the mace-battle, that took place at mantapañcaka situated to the west of the battlefield on the south bank of the r Sarasvatī[51], the *Pāṇḍava*s occupied the *Kaurava* camp [52] but, on the advice Kṛṣṇa, passed the night near the river Oghavatī[53]. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, however, left capital in the night itself and started for the battle field,[54] along with his ole entourage. After going for a couple of miles he met Kṛpācārya, vatthāmā and Kṛtavarmā[55] who, having performed their ghastly deeds in the kness of the night narrated in the *Sauptikaparva*, were fleeing for their life m the wrath of the pursuing *Pāṇḍava*s.[56] After having told the blind king ir plight the three went to their various destinations when the sun was yet to .[57]

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tataḥ sa rathamāsthāya drutamaśvānacodayat,
asaṁbhāvitavāṁścāpi rājadārān puraṁ prati. 81
taiścaiva sahitaḥ kṣipramastaṁ gacchati Bhāskare,
praviṣṭo Hāstinapuraṁ bāṣpakaṇṭho'śrulocanaḥ. 82

49 *Ibid.*, 28.91-92 :
adya tvamiha viśrāntaḥ śvo'bhigantā Yudhiṣṭhiram. 91
Yuyutsurapi tāṁ rātriṁ svagṛhe nyavasat tadā. 92

50 *Ibid.*, 1.14 :
tataḥ pūrvāhnasamaye śibirādetya Saṁjayaḥ,
praviveśa puriṁ dīno duḥkhaśokasamanvitaḥ.

51 *Ibid.*, 54.8, 12-13 :
tato Duryodhano rājā....., padbhyām..... 8
pratīcyabhimukhaṁ deśaṁ yathoddiṣṭaṁ..., gatvā ca... 12
dakṣiṇena Sarasvatyāḥ svayanaṁ tīrthamuttamam,... 13

52 *Ibid.*, 61.1-2 :
tataste prayayuḥ sarve..... 1
Pāṇḍavān gacchataścāpi śibiraṁ no viśāṁ pate,... 2

53 *Ibid.*, 61.36-37 :
tathetyuktvā ca te sarve Pāṇḍavāḥ..... yayurbahiḥ. 36
te samāsādya saritaṁ puṇyāṁ Oghavatīṁ nṛpa,
nyavasannatha tāṁ rātriṁ Pāṇḍavā hataśatravaḥ. 37

54 XI. 9.17 :
tābhiḥ parivṛto rājā rudatībhiḥ sahasraśaḥ,
niryayau nagarād dīnastūrṇam āyodhanaṁ prati.

55 *Ibid.*, 10.1 :
krośamātraṁ tato gatvā dadṛśustān mahārathān,
Śāradvataṁ Kṛpaṁ Drauṇiṁ Kṛtavarmāṇam eva ca.

56 *Ibid.*, 10.13-14 :
prādravāma raṇe sthātuṁ na hi śakyāmahe trayaḥ. 13
te hi... kṣiprameṣyanti Pāṇḍavāḥ,... vairaṁ pratijihīrṣavaḥ. 14

57 *Ibid.*, 10.18-23 :

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Further, after having performed the last rites of those that had f
the battle, Yudhiṣṭhira went to the battlefield to meet Bhīṣma who was
Kurukṣetra on his bed of arrows on the bank of the river Oghavatī, st
approach of the evening they, promising to come again the next day,
back and entered their capital by "the time the moon was up".[59] Next m
too, they went to Bhīṣma and listened to him but towards the evening t
and after having bathed on the river Dṛṣadvatī and said their evening
they entered the Kuru capital i.e. Hastinapura.'[60] After the final disco
the third day Bhīṣma asked them to return only on the day of the begin
Uttarāyaṇa when would arrive his last hour, and therefore the *Pāṇḍavas* r
to their capital.[61]

The above course of events, summarised from the books that be
the earliest stratum of the existing Epos, show beyond any shadow of do
the Kuru capital was only in the Kurukṣetra and not outside it on th
Gaṅgā in the east. The testimony of the *Śāntiparva*, on the other hand,
positive in placing it on the other i.e. the southern side of the river Dṛ
It was not far from the place of Bhīṣma's bed-of-arrows on the river Ogh

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ityevamuktvā...18; *Gaṅgāmanu*...*aśvānacodayan*. 19;
āmantryānyonyamudvignāstridhā te prayayustataḥ. 20
sametya vīrā rājānaṁ tadātvanudite ravau,
viprajagmur mahārāja yathecchakam ariṁdamāḥ. 23

58 XII. 50.6-7 :
tataste dadṛśurBhīṣmaṁ śaraprastaraśāyinam,...6
deśe paramadharmiṣṭhe nadīm Oghavatīm anu. 7

59 *Ibid.*, XII. 52.26-34 :
tato muhūrtād... *Divākaraḥ*,...*praticyāṁ pratyadṛśyat*. 26
śvaḥ sameṣyāma ityuktvā yatheṣṭaṁ tvaritā yayuḥ. 29
tataḥ purastād Bhagavān Niśākaraḥ
samutthitastām abhiharṣayaṁścamūm,...33
tataḥ puraṁ surapurasannibhadyuti
praviśya te Yaduvṛṣa Pāṇḍavāstadā,
Yathocitān bhavanavarān samāviśañ
śramānvitā mṛgapatayo guhā iva. 34

60 *Ibid.*, XII. 58.28-30 :
śva idānīṁ svasaṁdehaṁ prakṣyāmi tvā Pitāmaha,
upaiti Savitāpyastaṁ rasamāpīya pārthivam. 28
tato (29) *Dṛṣadvatīṁ cāpyavagāhya suvratāḥ*
kṛtodakāryāḥ kṛtajapyamaṅgalāḥ,
upāsya saṁdhyāṁ vidhivat paraṁtapās
tataḥ puraṁ te viviśurgajāhvayam. 30

61 XIII. 152.11-13 :
tathetyuktvā tu Kaunteyaḥ so'bhivādya Pitāmaham,
prayayau saparivāro nagaraṁ Nāgasāhvayam. 11
praviveśa Kuruśreṣṭha puraṁ Vāraṇasāhvayam. 13

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battlefield and the site of the mace-battle on the southern bank of the river asvatī, too was only a short distance away from the latter. Therefore, though he present state of our knowledge it is not possible to pinpoint the exact spot Hastināpura, we would perhaps not be far wrong in searching it in the western of the Kurukṣetra – *Kurukṣetrasya paścārdhe* (V. 196. 11) at a place where the nnels of the two above mentioned rivers are found to flow within a distance 0 to 30 miles—*Pañcayojanaṁ maṇḍalaṁ tadraṇājiram* (*ibid.*, 196.15). The r Oghavatī, if not just another name of either the Dṛṣadvatī or the Sarasvatī, perhaps be a small rivulet nearby.

Now once having settled the general area of the location of the Kuru tal, we will notice those passages from both the early Epos and the late *rmaśāstra* portions of the *Mahābhārata* where the name Gaṅgā is often and dd places associated with Hastināpura. To begin with the Epos, the name gā occurs for the first time in connection with the *Sauptika* events. After ing Dhṛtarāṣṭra a couple of miles out of the capital and telling him of the ts of the night, Aśvatthāmā went along the Gaṅgā to the *āśrama* of Vyāsa.[62] ne previous book it is said that after learning from the charioteer of the dead ṣṭadyumna[63] the ghastly deeds of Aśvatthāmā in the morning, Bhīma, having rtained his presence on the river Gaṅgā, followed him thither and saw him ng in the company of Vyāsa.[64] As on hearing the news of the death of her Kṛṣṇā, who had earlier gone to Upaplavya, came back to the *Pāṇḍava* camp threatened to court death by hunger if Aśvatthāmā was not suitably punish- the *Pāṇḍava*s wanted to kill him. But, failing that, they humiliated him by ing him yield his beloved natural (uncut ?) Jewel and rushed back to the

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2 X. 10.19-21 :
Gaṅgām anu... tūrṇamaśvānacodayan. 19
Drauṇirvyāsāśramaṁ yayau. 21

3 X. 10.1 :
tasyāṁ rātryāṁ vyatītāyāṁ Dhṛṣṭadyumnasya sārathiḥ,
śaśaṁsa Dharmarājāya sauptike kadanaṁ kṛtam.

Ibid., 13.12-14 :
sa teṣāṁ prekṣatāmeva.....yayau Bhāgirathī kaccham...,
yatra sma śrūyate Drauṇiḥ putrahantā mahātmanām. 12
sa dadarśa... udakānte..., Kṛṣṇa dvai-pāyanaṁ Vyāsam. 13
taṁ caiva krūrakarmāṇaṁ... dadarśa Drauṇimantike. 14

Ibid., 11.5-6, 15 :
Upaplavyagatā sā tu śrutvā sumahadapriyam,
tadā vināśaṁ putrāṇāṁ sarveṣāṁ vyathitābhavat. 5
Kṛṣṇā rājānamāsādya śokārtā nyapatad bhuvi. 6
ihaiva prāyamāsiṣye tannibodhata Pāṇḍavāḥ,
na cet phalamavāpnoti Drauṇiḥ pāpasya karmaṇaḥ. 15

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camp to placate Kṛṣṇā the same day.[66] Now, if the river Gaṅgā where A thāmā was apprehended in the Vyāsa *āśrama* be the same as the one we today, the spread of the news of Upaplavya, Kṛṣṇā's return therefrom t *Pāṇḍava* camp, *Pāṇḍavas* following Aśvatthāmā to the Gaṅgā and their return to her in the camp in one day would be rather inexplicable, nay impo On the other hand, the emplacement of the Vyāsasthalī i.e. the *āśrama* a away from the confluence of the Kauśikī with the Dṛṣadvatī in Kuru elsewhere[67] seems to make certain that by the term Gaṅgā here we are o understand the river Dṛṣadvatī.

Again, upon his return from the above expedition against Aśvatt Yudhiṣṭhira heard the coming of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who had started from the c in the night of the *Sauptika* events. He rushed to meet him and saw the g of lamenting women on the bank of the river Gaṅgā.[68] When both the had met, the deads were cremated and afterwards they all moved towa Gaṅgā[69] and performed their water-rites of the dead ; they are further have remained there outside the capital for a month-long period of pollution.[70] Here in the second from the last verse quoted above as als in *Vanaparva* (88.2) the Gaṅgā is provided with a number of adjectives, which Hradinī i.e. "full of pools", is quite significant and revealing

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66 *Ibid.*, 16.21-23 :

Droṇaputrasya sahajaṁ maṇim ādāya satvarāḥ,
Draupadīm abhyadhāvanta prāyopetāṁ manasvinīm. 21
tataste... abhyayuḥ... śibiraṁ punareva ha. 22
avatirya rathābhyāṁ tu tvaramāṇā mahārathāḥ,
dadṛśurdraupadiṁ Kṛṣṇām ārtām ārtatarāḥ svayam. 23

67 III. 81.80-82 :

Kauśikyāḥ saṅgame yastu Dṛṣadvatyāśca Bhārata, 80
tato Vyāsasthali nāma...81; abhigamya sthalīm. 82

68 XI. II.1-5 :

hateṣu sarvasainyeṣu Dharmarājo Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ,
śuśruve pitaraṁ vṛddhaṁ niryātaṁ Gajasāhvayāt. 1
so'bhyayāt...2; tamanvagāt suduḥkhārtā Draupadī 4
sa Gaṅgāmanu vṛndāni striṇāṁ... krośantināṁ dadarśa ha. 5

69 *Ibid.*, 26.44 :

kārayitvā kriyāsteṣāṁ Kururājo Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ,
Dhṛtarāṣṭraṁ puraskṛtya Gaṅgābhimukho'gamat.

Ibid., 27.1 :

te samāsādya Gaṅgāṁ tu śivāṁ puṇyajanocitām,
hradinīṁ vaprasaṁpannāṁ mahānūpāṁ mahāvanām.

70 XII. 1.12, 8 :

kṛtodakāste suhṛdāṁ sarveṣāṁ Pāṇḍunandanāḥ,.....1
tatra te sumahātmāno nyavasan Kurunandanāḥ,
śaucaṁ nivartayiṣyanto māsamekaṁ bahiḥ purāt. 2
puṇye Bhāgirathītīre śokavyākulacetasām,.....8

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dern Gaṅgā, even in these days of numerous dams and barrages, is never so l that too in the winter months; it is a perennial river. Only a river like ṣadvatī with uncertain supply of water except in the rainy months could be scribed thus.

As stated earlier, Bhīsma had asked Yudhiṣṭhira to return when his last ur had come on the day when the sun turns on his northerly course. After me fifty days, Yudhiṣṭhira, remembering the last words of Bhīṣma left the pital and reached Kuruksetra.[71] Then Bhīṣma withdrawing the vital airs from various organs, left for the heavens. His funeral pyre was piled there itself d, after he was cremated, all went to the Gaṅgā.[72] There the Gaṅgā emerged eping from the waters to perform the last rites of her son and said to the *uravas* that her heart was certainly "full of sapphire" (stones ?) as it did not eak even after not seeing the beloved son.[73] Shortly after performing the last es at the river they all returned to the Kuru capital i.e. Hastināpura.[74] Here e places of Bhīṣma's bed of arrows, his funeral pyre and even that of his last es on the river Gaṅgā seem all to have been situated very close by. Thus, do not seem to have moved much from the place of his death-bed on the er Oghavatī which itself was not far from Dṛṣadvatī: the last, as we have n earlier, seems to be the river Gaṅgā meant here. Here it should be noted t the Gaṅgā calls her heart as "full of sapphire"—*Aśmasāramaya*. Though poetic expression, it, however, reminds us of the literal meaning of the name ṣadvatī i.e. "full of stones". This, if viewed in the light of Gaṅga's another thet Hradinī—i.e. "full of pools", seems to suggest the identity of the two this context.

Now coming to those Books that form the part of the *Mahābhārata* as *armaśāstra* and were added later only to relieve the monotony of the rather g but eventless periods,[75] we come across various passages where the river

71 XIII. 153.5-12 :
samayaṁ Kauravāgryasya sasmāra...5; sa niryayau Gajapurād...6;
niścakrāma purāt tasmād yathā devapatistathā,
āsasāda Kurukṣetre tataḥ Śāṁtanavaṁ nṛpam. 12

72 *Ibid.*, 154.8-15 :
citāṁ cakrur mahātmānaḥ Pāṇḍavā Vidurastathā,...8
saṁskṛtya ca Kuruśreṣṭhaṁ Gāṁgeyaṁ Kurusattamāḥ,
jagmurbhāgīrathītiram ṛṣijuṣṭaṁ Kurūdvahāḥ. 15

73 *Ibid.*, 154.22 :
aśmasāramayaṁ nūnaṁ hṛdayaṁ mama Pārthivāḥ,
apaśyantyāḥ priyaṁ putraṁ yanna dīryati me'dya vai.

74 XIV. 14.13-16 :
evaṁ nātimahāṁkālaḥ sa teṣāṁ abhyavartata. 13
kurvatāṁ śaucakaramāṇi Bhīṣmasya nidhanaṁ tadā,...14
Dhṛtarāṣṭraṁ puraskṛtya viveśa Gajasāhvayam. 16

75 Sukthankar V. S., *On the Meaning of Mahābhārata*, Bombay 1957, p. 87.

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It is accepted that the events forming the basis of and described in the original Epos of the *Mahābhārata* marked the close of the Vedic period literally as well as archaeologically heralded[85] the Kali-Iron age towards the close of the 15th century[86] B.C. The Upaniṣads and the Sūtras reflect, as it were, the last glory of the Vedic Epoch that was fast undergoing a metamorphosis under the heavy pressure of the ever-varying ecology of the lands it was spreading into. In these books only Videha in the east is well-known and the rest of the eastern regions are as yet beyond the Vedic pale. In the south, too, the territory beyond the river Narmadā is not intimately known. Earlier, in the Brāhmaṇas, besides the mention of the purity of the speech[87] of the inhabitants of Kurukṣetra, we get a graphic description of the spread of the Vedic culture from the bank of the river Sarasvatī and of the first ever settlement of the *Sārasvatas* on the hitherto unoccupied marsh-lands of the Videha,[88] beyond the river Sadānīrā i.e. Gaṇḍakī.[89] And it is quite interesting and illuminating to note that there certainly was once a tradition which maintained that the Gaṅgā was seven fold. One such passage, occurring in the *Ādiparva*, seems to suggest that once the river Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Rathasthā, Sar

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85 Arunkumar, 'A suggested synchronism between.....the Ṛgveda and the Proto-historic Cultures of India', P.A.I.O.C., 26th Session 1972, Poona 1975, pp. 2 It would be interesting to note that in the early parts of the Epic the word *Kārṣṇāyasa* i iron occurs only a few times, e.g. VII. 170.18; however, in one place at least the reading pted in the *Cr. Ed* (*ibid.*, 31. 7) is *Kāṁsyāyasa*. It suggests that the Iron was only recent introduction.

86 Roy S. B., *Date of Mahābhārata Battle*, Gurgaon, 1976, esp. see pp. 130-132.

87 *Ś.B.*, III. 2.3.15 : *tasmād atrottarā hi vāgvadati Kurupañcālatrivāghyeṣā* ni *odīcīṁ hyetayā diśaṁ prajānann udīcī hyetasyai dik*;

K.B., VII. 6 : *udañca u eva yanti vācaṁ śikṣituṁ*;

P.B., XVIII. 1.9 : *adīkṣitā dīkṣitā vācaṁ vadanti*.

This last may be compared to the modern Hindi saying regarding the residents of the region: *bepaḍhā Jāṭa paḍhā jaisā*.

88 *Ś.B.*, I. 4.1.14-17 : *Sarasvatyāṁ sa tata eva prāṅdahanna bhīmāyemāṁ pṛthivī Gotamaśca Rāhūgaṇo Videghaśca Māthavaḥ paścād dahan tam anviyatuḥ; sa imāḥ sarv ati dadāhā Sadānīrā...., na atidadāha; tāṁ ha sma tāṁ purā Brāhmaṇā na taranty anatidagdh Vaiśvānareṇeti*-14; .....*prācīnaṁ bahavo Brāhmaṇās taddhākṣetrataram ivāsa srāvitara asvaditam agninā Vaiśvānareṇeti*-15;..... *kṣetrataram iva Brāhmaṇā u hi nūnam ena rasiṣvadant*-16; *sa hovāca, Videgho Māthavaḥ kvāhaṁ bhavān ityata eva te prācīnaṁ bh iti hovāca saiṣāpyetarhi KosalaVidehānāṁ maryādā*.....17.

89 Macdonell A. A. and Keith A. B., *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Delhi 19 p. 299. Dr. V. S. Agrawal, however, identifies it with the modern Rāpti that, flowi Gorakhpur, joins the river Sarayū near Barhaj. See-his '*Bhārata kī Maulika Ekatā*, All V.S. 2011, p. 36 note 2. But as the Rāpti has its source only in the foot-hills of the Nep at about 27° 45' Lat. N., it could not possibly be the Sadānīrā which is described to origin in the 'Northern Mountains'—*Sadānīretyuttatarād girernirdhāvati* (*Ś.B.*, I. and to remain 'unusually cool and overflowing even in the advanced summer'—*sā pi j nidāghe samivaiva kopayati tāvacchitān* (*ibid.*, I. 4.1.16).

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matī and Gaṇḍakī were all called the Gaṅgā. It is immaterial if now this sage has been proved to be an interpolation in the present context; it at least ws that once there existed such a tradition.[90] In our opinion this tradition uld go back at least to a period[91] when the river *Sarasvatī* in the west and *Gaṇḍakī* in the east contained in between all that was important of the total ead of the later Vedic horizon and this period coincides literally with the age the early Brāhmaṇas on the one hand and archaeologically with the closing rs of the late Harappan—O.C.P. assemblege on the other.[92]

Be what it may, Pt. Udayavira Sastri is of opinion that in the Purāṇas the r Dṛṣadvatī is often called the Gaṅgā. Here it may also be stated that some

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90 I. 158.17-18 :

purā Himavataścaiṣā Hemaśṛṅgād vinihsṛtā,
Gaṅgā gatvā Samudrāmbhaḥ saptadhā pratipadyate. 17
(Gaṅgāṁ ca Yamunāṁ caiva Plakṣajātāṁ Sarasvatīṁ,
Rathasthāṁ Sarayūṁ caiva Gomatīṁ Gaṇḍakiṁ tathā,
aparyuṣita pāpāste nadīḥ sapta pibanti ye. * 1714)
*iyaṁ bhūtvā caikavaprā śucirākāṣagā punaḥ,.....*18

This passage, though not forming an integral part of the text-tradition of the Epic ind tagged to the north-western and northern recensions (Dn, D_1, 4, 5, N_2 and V_1). It erefore, not unlikely that it contains a genuine, though non-epic, tradition once current North India.

1 A similar floating passage, tagged early to the epic, seems also to preserve a still earlier on. Thus, during the course of his pilgrimage to the source of the river Sarasvatī, Bala- is said (IX. 36.34-56) to have reached a place where the west-ward flowing river Sarasvatī ice changed its direction and assumed an easterly flow: after some time the normal westerly as, however, resumed. It is said to have happened in an earlier epoch—*Purvaṁ Kṛtayuge*). That it could not have been only an ordinary bend in one of its numerous meanders ich the river was already famous—*tasmāt sā kubjimativa* (*P.B.*, XXV. 10.11) seems certain e this assumption and resumption of respectively the easterly and the westerly flows was sual event and is described as *Adbhutaṁ mahat* (V. 53). This ' great wonderment ', in ability, refers only to that geographical incident that enabled the Gaṅgā system to capture ers of the river Sarasvatī (Raikes R. L., " Kalibangan: Death from Natural Causes ", y, XCII, 1968, pp. 289-91) near Indri (Suraj Bhan in: S.B. Deo (ed.), *Archaeological s and Seminar Papers*, Nagpur, 1972, pp. 125-28).

The farthest known extent of the Late Harappan/O.C.P. in the east is only upto Kanpur- w. But the discoveries of some painted black-over-red ware in association with dishes- d at Kausambi (Sharma G. R., *The Excavation at Kausambi*, 1957-59, Allahabad, 1960, 58, figs. 9-10), of some ochrous sherds along with a parellel-sided blade of chert auli, Varanasi (*I.A.R.*, 1963-64, p. 58), and of a red ware dish-on-stand at Manjhi (*ibid.*, , p. 9) on the north bank of the river Gaṅgā in Saran, Bihar seem only to underline the nature of our Archaeological research. The recent report of the discovery of a Late n assemblage in the Belan valley to the south-east of Allahabad, when confirmed, nly corroborate the above surmise.

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linguists think that the word Gaṅgā means just 'a river' in an austric co
The truth may, however, lie the other way : the river Gaṅgā's sanct
popularity must necessarily have led to its subsequent identification with a
every bit of flowing water. Anyhow, this list of the seven names of th
Gaṅgā seems certainly to preserve the memory of the period when the geo
cal focus had shifted from the Ṛgvedic land of "the seven *Sindhus*" to th
of "the seven *Gaṅgās*". This seems to be further corroborated by yet a
floating passage that got tagged early to the *Mahābhārata*. It says that (
land of 'the seven *Sindhus*' was holy in the Ṛgvedic period), the Kuru
was sacred in the *Dvāpara*, and the river Gaṅgā became holy only in th
yuga[94] i.e. in the post *Mahābhārata* war period.

With this shift in the Vedic geography in the later period to the Ya
Gaṅgā doab and beyond in the east, the local sacred rivers and spots mus
come into existence and necessitated the creation of the traditions, simi
those that arose in connection with the newly established dynasties, that be
ed sanctity to such places by providing them a flavour of an appreciable anti
And most of these newly created traditions and associations fell, in the
Mahābhārata war epoch i.e. the *Kaliyuga*, to the lot of the river Gaṅgā, if
because it was the only river that traversed and thereby united the whole o
Āryāvarta. This, coupled with further developments and evolutions in the
crematorial rites-*śrāddha*-must have given to the narrators of the Epic, a sanc
to bring the name of the river Gaṅgā every where-where such acts as also
of the *Vedādhyayana* were referred to. And as the Purāṇas, though com
early, continued to be brought upto date as late as the 4th or 5th century
they must have taken cognizance of these changed circumstances and, forg
the traditions once current in the later Vedic-*Dvāpara*-age, must necessarily
placed Kuru capital—Hastināpura on the only Gaṅgā they knew of.

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93 Chatterji S. K., "Race Movements and Prehistoric Culture", in-Majumd
Pusalker (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 154.

94 III, Appendix I-13, 1.7 :

Dvāpare'pi Kurukṣetraṁ Gaṅgā Kaliyuge smṛtā.

Though expunged from the *Cr. Ed.* as an interpolation, it is consistently found i
northern and north-western recensions and thus seems to record a genuine though str
tion of North India, particularly Kurukṣetra. This tradition of the *pre-Mahābhārata* w
ficance of the Kurukṣetra seems to be corroborated even by the geographical portio
Epic: out of the three such contexts, while the *Jambūdvīpavinirmāṇaparva* (VI. 6-10)
only a simple list of the various geographical features of the country, the other two *ti*
lists—IX. 34-53 and III. 80-153—give the details of only the Kurukṣetra and the res
is only very summarily sketched as if to provide a backdrop.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.,	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*
I.A.R.,	*Indian Archaeology—A Review.*
J.O.I. (B),	*Journal of the Oriental Institute*, M. S. University of Baroda.
K.B.,	*Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa.*
P.A.I.O.C.,	*Proceedings of All India Oriental Conference.*
P.B.,	*Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa.*
R.V.,	*Ṛgveda.*
Ś.B.,	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
T.Ā.,	*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.*

MAHĀBHĀRATA

I.	*Ādiparva.*	X.	*Sauptikaparva.*
II.	*Sabhāparva.*	XI.	*Strīparva.*
III.	*Vanaparva.*	XII.	*Śāntiparva.*
IV.	*Virāṭaparva.*	XIII.	*Anuśāsanaparva.*
V.	*Udyogaparva.*	XIV.	*Āśvamedhikaparva.*
VI.	*Bhīṣmaparva.*	XV.	*Āśramavāsikaparva.*
VII.	*Droṇaparva.*	XVI.	*Mausalaparva.*
VIII.	*Karṇaparva.*	XVII.	*Mahāprasthānikaparva.*
IX.	*Śalyaparva.*	XVIII.	*Svargārohaṇaparva.*

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NOTES ON MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN VOCABULARY II

By

W. B. BOLLEE*

In this paper the following Ardhamāgadhī and Pāli words will be discu

1. *āṇakkhei*
2. *āhutta, parāhutta and hutta*
3. **ujjalla**
4. *kaṇhui*
5. *tuyaṭṭai/tuvaṭṭai*, Pāli *tuvaṭṭati/-eti*
6. *daḍha-dhamma*
7. *pāyāla*, Pāli *pātāla*
8. *bhinna-kahā*
9. *valaya*
10. *saṃvīya*
11. *sahiya*
12. Pāli *hatthâpalekhana*

The abbreviations used below are the same as those in my "Note Middle Indo-Aryan Vocabulary I" in an earlier issue of this Journal. (Vol. XXXI, No. 3, March 1982, Pp. 244-254)

1. *āṇakkhei*

OhaN 37 deals with the monk who on his wanderings has to cross a r and gives details not contained in Āyār 2, 3, 2, 9 f. One of the things he ha do is to find out by himself the depth of the water, if there is no layman at h whom he can ask : *a-sai gihi nāliyāe*[1] *āṇakkheuṃ* (...). The comment Droṇa, explains the last word by *parīkṣya* (*loc. cit.*).

The same verb recurs in the *Cūrṇi* on Sūy 1, 4, 1, 15, but with an form of the gerund ; *so ya āṇakkhettuṃ tusiṇīo mahatthiyā saṃciṭṭhati.* the text speaks of a man who noticed that his daughter-in-law, pre-occupi a dance in the village, served mustard seeds to her family instead of rice nevertheless remains silent, whereas she is beaten by her husband who su her of being unfaithful to him because of her absent-mindedness. T tradition apparently preserved the correct meaning, the etymology was los take the verb *āṇakkhei* to be the Amg. equivalent of *ālakṣayati* 'to behold, see' (MW) ; there is no counterpart in Pāli. A change of *l* dealt with in Pi § 260, but only pertaining to the ablaut. The dictionaries, however, do not mention **nakkhei*.

2. *āhutta, parāhutta* and *hutta*

The first of these words occurs in Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa, the mid in one of the younger Ardhamāgadhī texts, the third only in *Setubandha*.

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* Oberer Stephansberg 63, D-8600, Bamberg, W. Germany.

1 *Nālikā hy ātma-pramāṇāc catur-aṅgulâdhikā yaṣṭikā*, OhaN (Surat, 1957), p.

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(1) The probably earliest reference for *āhutta* is *Setubandhā* 5, 73 *disai ikkanto maggâhutto paaṃ paaṃ va samuddo* 'the ocean looks like one who ning backwards retreats step by step'. In Dhanapāla's *Bhavisattakahā* I nd the cp. *raṇâhuita* 'ready for battle' (in Jacobi's ed. ch. 237, 11). *Āhutta* o occurs several times in Devendra's *Uttarajjhāyā vṛtti* which Jacobi edited his *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, e.g. p. 76, 29 *kumaro vi pahāvio âhuttaṃ* 'the prince rushed forth and upon her[2], whereas in his glossary Jacobi l translated the adverb by 'gerichtet aufwärts' ('directed upward'). This aning fits also 79, 18 = 82, 4 *kumaro saṃcalio niya-purâhuttaṃ* 'the prince oceeded (...) toward his own city' (Meyer) and 81, 30 *paloei tad-disâhut-* 'he looked toward that direction' (id.).

(2) *Parāhutta*, the opposite of *āhutta*, is met with in the OhaN 516 *khitta parâhutte ya pamatte mā kayāi* 'one should not confess to a guru who liverted, turns himself away or pays no attention'. Droṇa's comm. explains *āhutta* by *parāṅ-mukhaḥ parābhimukhaḥ*. Hāla has it in Vs. 245 *devammi āhutte*, and I intend to deal with SūyBh 51 in my *Studien zum Sūyagaḍa II* preparation). *Setubandha* 10, 64 refers to the asides of young women: *āhutta-jampiyaṃ juaiṇaṃ*.

(3) Beside the above prepositional forms, the simplex *hutta* also occurs, I can provide for it only references from *Setubandha*, in compounds preceded vords ending in a vowel other than—*ā*, e.g. 4, 12 *purao-huttârambho divaso* day which begins toward the east/in eastern direction'; 6, 45 *tatto-hutta ti sariā-sottā* 'the waters of the brooks run in that direction' (cf. 11, 67),

Hemacandra[3] and Rāmadāsa who wrote a commentary on *Setubandha* hrased (*ā*) *hutta* and *parāhuita* as *abhimukha* and *paraṅ-mukha*, respectively, id not venture upon an etymology. To my knowledge this was only done seyer[4] when he remarked "'*āhutta* I take to be = **ābhukta* (*bhuj, bhujáti*), ; turned toward'". In view of the references given above I do not think o be plausible. *Bhujati* is mainly used of parts of the body as is Pāli [5] (finite verb forms are not instanced), which is paraphrased/varied upon *nyutta* by (*gopānasi-*) *vaṅka-*. Rather the meaning of 'towards, directed ints to OI. *-vṛtta-* as the etymon the intervocalic *-v-* developing into *-h-* in t which considered *-v-* to be a glide consonant. Compare e.g. Norman's

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Meyer J. J., *Hindu Tales* (London, 1909), p. 259.

Deśīnāmamālā, VIII 70; *Prākṛta-vyākaraṇa* 2, 158 (PSM).

Meyer J. J., *loc. cit.*, note 2.

In five similar passages listed in PED *bhogga* is used of old people. Digha II, 22, 2 1. *bhagga*; Ja III 395, 21, explains *bhogga* by *bhagga-sarīraṁ oṇamitvā*, and Mil 282, 7 *agga* for *bhogga*.

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identification of Pāli *vivatta-chadda* with BHS *vighuṣṭa-śabda* < **vihuṭṭ*
< **vivuṭṭa-* < **vivaṭṭa-* as a by-form of *vivatta-* ~ Sa. *vivṛtta*.[6]

3. **ujjalla**

A group of widespread suffixes in Prākrit and especially in Apabhra
the one ending in *-alla, -illa* and *-ulla* to which Louise Schwarzschild de
an article two decades ago.[7] In it she distinguished a class of words—
and verbs—in which *-dl-* > *-ll-*; words in which -ry- > *-ll-*;[8] various anal
formations e.g. doubling of *-l-* and irregular formations based on Sanskrit
deśī words of non-Aryan or unknown origin and, finally, a number of unc
cases. One of the latter seems to be the *hapax legomenon* (?) **ujjall*
reading of which at the few parallels is uncertain. It is found at Sūy 1, 3,
in a series of terms of abuse laymen use for monks ; *muṇḍā kaṇḍū-vinaṭṭh*
ujjallā a-samāhiyā. Jinadāsa mentions a *pāṭha ujjāyā* which, as a sg.,
mean *mṛgo naṣṭaḥ* (i.e. the same invective as Latin *cadaver* or German *L*
and explains *ujjalla* by *uvacita-jalla* (Cū 103, 13), whereas Śīlāṅka is
different, yet hardly more plausible opinion : *udgato jallaḥ śuṣka-prasvedo*
te ujjallāḥ (Ṭ I 82 b 11). Vaidya (Poona, 1928) reads *ujjalā*. As fo
meaning, Amg. as well as Pāli gives us a lead, first of all when a worthy
calls his revilers *ujjhiyā a-samāhiyā* at Sūy 1, 3, 3, 13. Here variant rea
are *ujjāyā* (Cū), *ujjuttā* and *ujjuyā* (vv. 11. in Cū ed. Puṇyavijaya),
(Jaina Āgama Series) and *ujjhuttā* (the Ṭīkā's MS. I) ; they hardly seem
of any use. Schubring read *ujjhayā* for which he postulated a Sanskrit equi
**uddhvaja*. Finally we have the scholia *śunyā* (Cū 115, 2) and *sad-viveka*
(Ṭ I 92 b 12),

The second reference I would like to mention is *Aṅguttara* II 26, 16
(*bhikkhū*) *unnaḷā a-samāhitā*. According to the CPD *unnaḷa* means 'arr
insolent, frivolous'. It also occurs at Dhp 292 = Th 635 where it is
that the "taints" increase *unnaḷānaṃ pamattānaṃ* who neglect their du
do what they should abstain from. Radhakrishnan translated *unnaḷa* by
strained,[9] Norman by 'frivolous'.[10] Brough discussed various possible
logies and thought **un-nṛta* to be more promising semantically than **un*
Unnaḷa is also found e.g. at *Majjhima* I 32, 9 *puggalā* (. . .) *uddhatā unnaḷ*
Miss Horner renders it by 'puffed up'.[12] Further, Sūy 1, 11, 26 may be

6 Norman, K. R. "Two Pali Etymologies", BSOAS XLII, 2 (1979), p. 32
7 "Notes on some Middle Indo-Aryan Words in -ll-", JAOS 77 (1957), pp
8 See also my paper, "The Indo-European Sodalities in Ancient India," Z
(1981).
9 Radhakrishnan S., *The Dhammapada*, London, 1950.
10 Norman K. R., *Elders' Verses I*, London, 1969.
11 Brough J., *Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, p. 279 f.
12 Horner I. B., *Middle Length Sayings I*, London, 1954.

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the meaning of *ujjalla* : monks who start meditating after the use of impure od or drink are called *a-kheya-nnā 'samāhiyā* 'without spiritual knowledge d incapable of concentration'.[13]

The last references to be treated in this connection are Sūy 1, 3, 3, 8d and 11, 25d *antae* (*t*) *e samāhie* (?). The context in the former passage treats of ose who admonish a true monk and describes them by the *pāda* quoted which cobi translated by '(...) are far from perfection', but Schubring by 'who ally play their trump-card, viz. (...)'[14] for which he proposes to read *antae ī āhie = antake tair āhitam* (*ākhyātam*). Both scholars ignored the parallel.

In the same way the commentaries differ, particularly in that Jinadāsa umes aphaeresis of an *a* privativum in ' '*samāhie*,[15] whereas Śīlāṅka's scholion s *antake paryante dūre samādheḥ mokṣâkhyāt samyag-dhyānāt sad-anuṣṭhānāt vartanta iti* (Ṭ I 91 b 6).

Vs. 1, 11, 25 deals with fools who think themselves wise, and the last *pāda* ves to characterize them. Jacobi renders it by 'they are beyond the boundary right faith'. As for the commentaries, Jinadāsa reads *dūratas te samādhie*— iously a conjecture for the unintelligible *antae*—and Śīlāṅka's is similar to his ark on 1, 3, 3, 8. The reading *antae te samāhie* would imply that *antae* and *āhi* (which, then, is feminine here) would be used in a meaning that fits only e two identical references. In the case of *antae* this is rather difficult, because slightly different *antie* signifies just the opposite of 'far away'.[16] The native that is borne in upon us is the assumption that one *pāda* was taken from the other together with the corrupt *antae* and that in origin both were tical with or similar to 1, 3, 1, 10 d, i.e. that all three of them had *a-samāhiyā* the second word, but a form like *ujjal(l)ā, unnaḷā* or *ujjhiyā* (two different s are also possible) at the beginning. Of these, *ujjhiya* alone is etymo- ally clear, but its meaning does not fit. Perhaps a reverse index of the *ābhārata* would help to solve the problem.

4. *kaṇhui*

Kaṇhui occurs only in Sūy and Utt, always at the end of a line and in the y of a negation, and was not dealt with by Pischel. The references are

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[13] Sūy 2, 1, 7 gives the following definition of *a-kheya-nna* (~ Sa. *a-kṣetra-jña*) *purise -nne a-kusale a-paṇḍie a-viyatte a-mehāvī bāle no magga-tthe no magga-viū no maggassa a-kkama-nnū.*

[14] 'Die spielen schliesslich [als letzten Trumpf folgendes] aus' (*Worte Mahāvīras,* .

Antae nāma ābhyantaraḥ (Puṇyavijaya's reading; the Ratlam 1950 print has *nāmânā- rataḥ*) *dūrataḥ te 'samāhie. Nāṇâdi-mokkhā* (Ratlam ed. :—*mokkho*) *parama-samādhī, asamādhau* (Ratlam ed. : *atyante*) *varttante. A-samāhie a-kāra-lopam kṛtvā, saṃsāre aḥ* (*Cū* 113, 9 f.).

At Sūy 1, 2, 2, 9 the good MSS A2 and I read *aṇtie* for *antae*.

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Sūy 1, 2, 3, 6 where Jinadāsa explains it by *kvacid* (Cū 92, 9), Śīlāṅ *kutaścid* (Ṭ I 73 b 1). Jacobi translated it by 'for some reason or o Schubring by 'irgendwie' ('somehow')[18] : *kāmī kāme na kāmae ladd a-laddhe kaṇhui*. Further, in Utt 1, 7 *Budhha-putte niyāy' -aṭṭhī na kasijjai kaṇhui* 'a son of the wise who desires liberation will not be turne from anywhere' (Jacobi); Utt 2, 40 *jeṇâhaṃ nâbhijāṇāmi puṭṭho keṇai* 'for I do not remember them (i.e. former actions productive of ignorance asked by anybody anywhere' (Jacobi, *op. cit.*); and 2, 46 *je bhikk vihammejjā puṭṭho keṇai kaṇhui* 'a monk should not be vanquished by (i.e. troubles), when attacked by anywhere' (Jacobi).—Finally we meet *kaṇhui* in a passage which is of interest apart from the word discussed Sūy 2, 2, 21 = 2, 7, 21 = Dasāo 10 VI (ed. Lahore, 1936, p. 457) *ārā āvasahiyā gām' -antiyā kaṇhuī-rāhassiyā no baha-saṃjayā*' those (sc. he monks) who live in woods, in huts, about villages, or practise some secret are not well controlled' (Jacobi).[19]

As the scholastic sanskritizations do not present a possible etymolog have to seek another solution. It seems correct, however, that we are confro with a compound the first part of which *-ka-* could be the equivalent of Sa. Pāli *kuvaṃ* (PED), *kvaṃ* (Geiger § 53.3), whereas the second part *-huī-* pe corresponds to Sa. *svid*, Pāli (s) *su*. This leaves us with the problem of th which I cannot solve so far for lack of parallels. Vedic *kvá svid* 'anywher a fixed combination at any rate.

5. *tuyaṭṭai/tuvaṭṭai*, Pāli *tuvaṭṭati/-eti*

The above verbs are by no means rare in Amg. and Pāli nor is meaning unknown; rather, the problem they cause us concerns their etymo In order to discuss it a few examples, first from Amg., then from Pāli, sh suffice, all the more because *tuyaṭṭai* and its derivatives were dealt with some ago by Alsdorf who summed up most of the older opinions and translation

Tuyaṭṭai is mainly used in a stock phrase : *se bhikkhū parakkam ciṭṭhejja vā nisiejja vā tuyaṭṭejja vā*.... (*Āyār* 1, 8, 2, 1), cf. Sūy 2, 7, 15 *ga*

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17 *Jaina Sūtras* II, SBE xxii.

18 *Worte Mahāviras* (Göttingen, 1926), p. 135 stating the *Cūrṇi's* scholion *kv* Śīlāṅka's *kutracit*.

19 The commentators explain *kaṇhuī-rāhassiyā* as follows : *raha tyāge. Kiṃcid eṣāṃ bhavati yathā homaṃ mantrāś ca āraṇyagaṃ vā ity ādi. Sarve devā eṣāṃ rahasy brāhmaṇāya na dīyante* (Sūy Cū 349, 12 f.), *kārye maṇḍala-praveśādike rahasyaṃ y kvacid-rāhasikāḥ* (T II 55 b 4), As for this one is reminded of a passage like Jaiminī 269 where the Atharvan Udvanta asks some seers *itha grāmaṃ jaghanena*3 ?

20 Asokas Separatedikte von Dhauli und Jaugaḍa, in: *Akademie der Wissensch der Literatur in Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes—und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse.* J 1962. Nr. 1, p. 18 f.

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ī ciṭṭhāmo tahā nisīyāmo tahā tuyaṭṭāmo tahā (....); 2, 2, 23; Rāy 62 (*Suttâ-*
ie II 88, 23) *eha tāva, sāmi, iha muhuttagaṃ āsayaha* (....) *tuyaṭṭaha;* 31
ttâgame II 64, 26; p. 138 in the Calcutta 1880 print) *devā* (....) *tuyaṭṭanti.*
de the noun *tuyaṭṭaṇa* (Utt 24, 24; Nisīha 5, 2) we find *tuvaṭṭa-m-ādīṇi*
ti in BKappaBh 3681.[21] The commentators sanskritize *tuyaṭṭai* by *tvagvar-*
ti (as on Kappa 95) or *tvagvartanaṃ kurvanti* (as on Rāy 31) and explain
f at all, by giving forms of *śete* (as on Viy 2,1,91 Fol. 120 a; Suttâg I
17).[22] Malayagiri on Rāy 31 adds an etymological elaboration : *vāma-*
yataḥ parāvṛttya dakṣiṇa-pārśvenâvatiṣṭhanti (....) *iti bhāvaḥ* ' they turn
left to right and v.v. ' which made Alsdorf think that the real meaning
t be ' to wallow restlessly on one's bed ', which is queer when said of gods,
āvīra's mother etc. Alsdorf further holds *tuyaṭṭai* to be a combination of *tu*
+ *vartayati* The former part cannot be ~ Sa. *tvag* (which is feminine),
urse.

Not even Alsdorf considered the Pāli forms for which the PED gives three
ences, all from the *Vinaya*, to support the meaning ' to share '. Wicked
s eat, drink, sit and lie down together with laywomen : *kul'-itthīhi* (....)
iṃ (....) *ekâsane pi nisīdanti eka-mañce pi tuvaṭṭenti ek'-attharaṇâpi*
enti (Vin II 10,10; cf. 124,6). Elsewhere two nuns lie down on the same
ouch *eka-mañce tuvaṭṭeyyuṃ* (Vin IV 289, 1). This reference is important
se of its canonical scholion *ekāya nipannāya aparā nipajjati* (289,5**). The
explanation is given by Buddhaghoṣa (Sp 620,25 on Vin III 180,15), but
es not use the verb actively. That this is correct—as against Rhys David's
tade's ' to share '—is proved by Apadāna 137,18 *sayane 'haṃ tuvaṭṭāmi*
' to share ' is impossible. The same may be said of their considering
equivalent of " *Sa. *dvandvayati*, denominative from *dvandva* ' to share ' ".
the Pāli meaning ' to lie down ' is supported by a commentary centuries
han the Jain scholia and also fits the Amg. references, it seems highly
le that it was the curreat one in the latter languge too. This point also
Alsdorf's conjecture in the Asoka edict of Dhauli, and similarly in that
aḍa : *e kilaṃte siyā* (*ti*), *tena ugaca saṃcalitaviye tuvaṭitaviye etaviye*
o is somehow weary, should start to move after pulling himself together,
e (?) and go about '.[23] A form belonging to √ *tvar* would appear more
, at least semantically.

manus ignota—probably Bühler's, whose copy of the *Aupapātika Sūtra*
possession—provides us with still another proposition, which, if correct,

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[21] *Et passim*, e.g. 3688 and 4602.

[22] Haribhadra 155-b 3 ad Dasav 4 XIV *tvagvartangaṃ svapanam.*

[23] Wer etwa schlaff ist, der muss sich aufraffend (abs. *udgatya*) sich in Bewegung setzen,
n (?) und sich fortbewegen ' (Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

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could save Alsdorf's emendation, and give it a slightly more satisfactor ing : in a marginal jotting in the glossary at *tuyuṭṭaṇa* it says " = *tvag* zudecken'".[24] In this sense, however, it does not occur in the Pe Dictionary which—quoting from Dhātup 17, 13—gives for *t(v)akṣ* the ing of 'bedecken' ('to cover' [MW], but also 'machen, schaffen, ('to make, create, produce' [MW]. This idea, however, does not seem a definite solution either, because MI. *-ṭṭ-* hardly represents AI.*-kṣ-*, nor a denominative from *t(v)aṣṭa* regularly become *tuvaṭṭe(t)i*. May somehow related to IE **tuerk-*, **tuork-* 'transverse', Eng. *queer*, thwa German *dwars*, *quer*, *Zwerch* (*fell*) ? Though I cannot solve the thought it useful to make some additions to Alsdorf's remarks.

6. *daḍha-dhamma*

In all but one reference in the Siddhânta *daḍha-dhamma* occurs in tion with *piya-dhamma*, e.g. at Utt 34, 28 (~ OhaN 648) *piya-dhamm dhamme 'vajja-bhīru hiy' -esae* 'who loves the Law and keeps it (...)' (*Vavahāra* 10, 10 etc. The only exception is Sūy 1, 3, 1, 1

sūraṃ mannai appāṇaṃ jāva jeyaṃ na passai
jujjhantaṃ daḍha-dhammāṇaṃ Sisupāla va mahā-rahaṃ

Jacobi following Śīlâṅka[25] rendered the word in question by 'va (-fighting)', Schubring—unfittingly and against Jinadāsa's for once explanation[26]—by 'the pious'.[27] The etymon here is not **dṛḍha-dharm dṛḍha-dhanvan* as is proved by *Rāmāyaṇa* 1, 39, 6 where it is found togeth *mahāratha*. *Daḍha-dhamma* in this sense has a counterpart in Pāli *daḷha-d* pace PED ('strong in anything' etc.) and PTC ('strong by nature *hapax legomenon* there also, it is used as an epithet of Ugga-puttā at *mah' -issāsā sikkhitā daḷha-dhammino* '(...) with firm bows' (N As for the Apabhraṁśa-like phonetic development we have to assume of *-nv-* > *-nv̆-*/*-ṃv̆-* > *-mm-* > *-mm-* as a borrowing from a dialect in w change was regular like Gāndhārī *amedi* < *anveti*.[28]

7. *pāyāla*/*pātāla*

The Indian notion of hell is that of a hole in or under the e

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24 'To cover oneself.'—Schubring bought Bühler's copy in 1902 but did n even mention this note in his Ācār Glossar, and gives *tvagvartayati* as the etymon.

25 *Dṛḍhaḥ samartho dharmaḥ sva-bhāvaḥ saṃgrāmâbhaṅga-rūpo yas taṃ* (Ṭ I 80a 8).

26 *Dṛḍhaṃ dhanur yasya sa bhavati dṛḍha-dhanvā. taṃ dṛḍh* (Cū 100, 4).

27 *Worte Mahāvīras*, p. 138.

28 See Brough J., *Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (London, 1962) S 36, to which I in a note on Th 1210.

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itime abyss. The latter idea occurs only with Sanskrit lexicographers and is ally found in Middle Indian texts, e g. Aup § 32 where the ocean of *saṃsāra* aid to be *kasāya-pāyāla-saṃkula* 'full of abysses in the form of passions'. hell it contains fire and as such it occurs e.g. in *Setubandha* 2. 36 *et passim.* ndia there are hardly any active volcanoes.[29], much less submarine ones, and e popular[30] ideas of underwater fires have a nucleus in reality they must be d on reports brought back by Indian merchants from Indonesia.[31]

These preliminary remarks are helpful for the understanding of Sūy 1, 3, 2, hich compares the bonds (*saṅgā*) that connect people with their relations to *lā* ; both are equally difficult to overcome : *ee saṅgā maṇūsāṇaṃ pāyālā va imā.* Jacobi renders *pāyālā* by 'ocean', Schubring by 'underworld volcano e sea'. The commentaries explain it by *samudra,* though the *Cūṛṇi* also ds *Balayā-mukhâdyāḥ* (108, 14). A slightly different translation is given hubring in his *Doctrine of the Jainas* § 121 viz. 'submarine cave'.

About the exact relation between *kasāya* and *saṅga* I cannot quote a nce from the Jaina Literature, but as a concept it seems nearest to *pejja* , together with *dosa,* is placed over *kasāya* at Ṭhā 2, 4, 106 (Fol. 98a 9 foll. ; hubring, *Doctrine* § 168). The adjective with *kasāya* at Aup 32 is an ute of the ocean-like circuit of mundane existence. The meaning 'abyss'. ocean', for *pāyāla* is required by the context. At Sūy 1, 3, 2, 12 'abyss' just as possible as 'submarine volcano', but for the latter meaning I have rallels,[32] neither in Amg. nor in Pāli, where sure references for an abyss in rth's surface (as against one in the sea) are rare. If the canonical wording a doubt, in most cases the comm. add *mahā-samudde* by way of explanation, 89 *uttiṇṇā paṅkā palipā, pātālā parivajjitā* (comm. : *pātālā ti pātâlayaṃ ā mahā-samudde ninnatā padesā*). An exception is Saṃyutta I 127, 16* *siras 'ūhacca pātāle gādham esatha'* (...) ye seek to find a footing in ss' (C.A.F. Rhys Davids).[33] Also rare in Pāli is the meaning 'hell' ;

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utenberg B./ Richter C. F., *Seismicity of the Earth and associated Phenomena* (Princeton -949), Pl. 28 and A. Cailleux, *L'anatomie de la Terre* (Paris, 1968), Plate 12 mention volcano near Pondicherry (I owe this piece of information to the kindness of Dr. J. . Bamberg University).

-ssutavā (....) *puthujjano yaṃ vācaṃ bhāsati: "Atthi mahā-samudde pātālo'* . IV 206, 8).

he Times Atlas of the World, comprehensive ed. (London, 1974), Pl. 2 has active and bmarine volcanoes on/near the Laccadive and Maldive Islands, and south of the Ridge in the Indian Ocean between Ceylon and Sumatra.

lorman, *Elders' Verses* I, p. 274 (note on vs. 1104) takes *pā-tālā* in this "meaning, tation" here and at Spk I 84, 27 ff. on S I 32, 25*.

indred Sayings I (London, 1917), p. 159.

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I assumed it in the simile *pātālaṃ iva dup-purā* (*itthiyo*) at Ja V 425, 21*,[34] 'ocean' would have done as well, better than 'submarine abyss' I Norman, *loc. cit.*, only refers to the Ct. *yathā mahā-samudde pātālaṃ dup* (Ja V 432,4 ').

A difficult reference in this connection is *Theragāthā* 1104 where the Tāḷapuṭa exclaims :

kadā nu Gaṅgaṃ, Yamunaṃ, Sarassatiṃ
Pātāla-khittaṃ Baḷavā-mukhaṃ ca
a-sajjamāno patareyyam iddhiyā
vibhiṃsanaṃ ? taṃ nu kadā bhavissati ?

Starting from *vaḷabhā-mukha* as the name of a sea at Ja IV 141,13 (Norman argues that " it is possible that *baḷavā-mukha* is used in the same s also here " (these names probably being identical,[35] cf. Sa. *vaḍabhā-mukha* Amg. *vaḍavā-muha* ' the name of an entrance to hell ' [MW] and 'eka m pātāla ' [PSM] respectively). He then considers it possible that *pātāla-k* is also a geographic location, possibly the port at the mouth of the Indus if, takes *khitta* to be the equivalent of Sa. *kṣetra*. A place called Pātāla is menti in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (only reference in BHSD) which could indeed be iden with Pattala recorded by the historians of Alexander the Great, with Pāu and Pātasilā, and finally with Nirankot and mordern Haiderabad in Paki Thus Norman assumes " a series of five geographical locations which the a of the verse hoped he might be able to cross, each further away than the p ding one : the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Sarassatī, the mouth of the Indus the Baḷavā-mukha sea beyond ". It should be borne in mind, however, thr hypothesis is based on a 5th cent. A,D. (or even later) *Jātaka* comme explanation as against *Ṭhāṇāṅga* 4, 2, 305 (Fol. 226 b 1; *Suttâgame* I 23 where *valayā-muha* is the name of a hell. According to Kirfel it is the one of the four big *pātāla*s or vat-like containers in the Lavaṇoda Between each two of them there are 251 smaller ones. All of them co three parts: the upper one of which contains water; the middle one, w wind; and the lower one, wind only. They cause the tides.

I would prefer to put *khitta* on a par with Sa. *khāt(r)a* ' cavity, h Amg. *khatta* in which Pischel § 566 sees a by-form of *khaṇṇa*, Jacobi the lent of Sa. *khātra*. For this assumption I refer to a case like *-matta/-met* (Pischel § 109). Apart from a phonological development a popular ass with √ *kṣip* or *chidda* ' hole ' seems possible all the more because alt

34 *Kuṇālajātaka* (London, 1970), p. 133.
35 *Baḷavā-mukha* is not mentioned in Malalasekera's *Pāli Proper Names*.
36 See A. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India* (London, 1871), p.
37 Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn/Leipzig, 1920), p. 243.

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h- do occur.[38] Thus, *pātāla-khttta* 'being a chasm of hell' would be an tive modifying Baḷavā -mukha[39] and the series of locations would consist of four, the last one being the climax outside this world[40] and in conformity to ghel's effect, the series' longest item, just as Sarasvatī is the longest name at d of the first line. The rivers, however, are enumerated from east to west. ddhist cosmology, therefore, Baḷavā-mukha seems to be a western ocean, is probable though not expressly stated, for Vaḷabhā-mukha in the *īraka-Jātaka* mentioned above.[41] In this connection it may be said that *igambaras* locate Vaḍavā-mukha in the north (Kirfel, *loc. cit.*).

8. *bhinna-kahā*

As a reference for this compound PSM states *Oha-Nijjutti* 99 which deals he inspection (*paḍilehā*) to be carried out when monks meet colleagues ing the same monastical rule. It pertains not only to externals, of course, so to behaviour: *vikahā hasiy'-uggāiya- -bhinna-kahā cakka-vāla- -chaliya* (. .). Droṇa's explanation of *bhinna-kahā* is *maithuna-sambaddhā rābhasikā* i.e. 'loose language'. This meaning, I think, also fits Sūy 1, 4, 1, 7 previous translations of this older reference, on the other hand, would not aN 99.

At Sūy 1, 4, 1, 7 the author complains that some women try to seduce a by at first sympathizing with him and behaving modestly, but after having ed him they make him ready for them by means of ambiguous words : *adu mañjulāī bhāsanti āṇavayanti bhinna-kahāhī* rendered by Jacobi as) in confidential conversation', by Schubring as 'durch hingeworfene and finally by Alsdorf as 'by giving loose to talking' [sic]. Here, too, olia may be quoted : *bheda-karī kathā bhinna-kathā* (*Cūṛṇi* 132, 11),[42] *athābhī rahasyâlāpair maithuna-sambaddhair vacobhiḥ* (*Ṭīkā* I 107a 11). considers them "equally baseless" and thinks himself of speech as ee flow, breaking forth etc. with regard to the meaning of the passive - 'to overflow (as water)' (MW). The function of "obscenities",

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e Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language* (Calcutta, 1943), § 56.

Digambara cosmology the Vaḷavā-muha of the *Śvetāmbaras* is called *Pātāla* (Krifel,

aḷabhā-mukha is described as the sea at the end of the world from which there is no IV 142,1). As such Baḷavā-mukha could be a symbol of *Nirvāṇa*.

the *Jātaka* translation by Francis and Neil, vol. IV (Cambridge, 1901), p. 88 n. 1 of the seas in this *Jātaka* is said to be given in Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 12ff., ook is not at my disposal.

his is illustrated as follows : *tumaṃ si kiṃ vatta-vīvāho pavvai(t)o? Na va? tti. a iti cet, kathaṃ sā jīvati tvayā vinâivaṃvidha-rūpeṇa? iti. Kumāra iti ced, "an-lokā na santi"* (cf. Cūṛṇi 60, 1) *kiṃ te taruṇagassa pavvajjāe? Dārikā varijjasu ya : -āsu) mayā vā saha bhuñja bhoe, syāt kathaṃ vairāgyaṃ vā* (*Cūṛṇi* 132, 11 ff.),

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already in Vedic times, was dealt with e.g. by Keith.[43] My starting-po
the semantic development was *bhinna* 'split'. But if one prefers to q
'flowing' or something similar, then I would like to point out the fluid
from a rutting elephant's temples as is also instanced for *bhinna* in Sa
That, however, would in the end point in the same direction as 'ambig
'obscene'.

9. *valaya*

In Sa., Pāli and Amg. the meanings of *valaya* as given in the dicti
are not always the same and, moreover, within one language they s
diverge enough to raise the possibility that we are faced with homon
different etymology. The main meanings in (epic) Sanskrit are 1. 'bra
and 2. 'circle, circumference, round enclosure' (MW); in primar
(Vinaya) only 'bracelet' and in Amg. according to PSM 1. 'bracelet' (
kaṇa, kaḍā), 2.-3. 'circumference; enclosure' (*pṛthivī-veṣṭana*; *veṣṭana, beḍh*
4. 'deceit, fraud', (*māyā, prapañca*). For the present I should like to se
the first from the other meanings and deal with the latter, particularly
'enclosure'. No reference for it is given in PSM, but it occurs in a stock p
of different length e.g. at Sūy 1, 3, 3, 1; Āyār 2, 3, 3, 2; Sūy 2, 2, 8 an
1, 8, 65 together with *gahaṇa, nūma* etc.—things which can e.g. be hiding
for deserters or present diversions for a monk who finds them in his
Jinadāsa's definition of *valaya* is *ekka-duvārā gaḍḍā parikkhevo vā*[44] 'a
hole or a depression with only one entry', whereas Śīlāṅka sees in it 'a
with a round sheet of water or an underwater cave difficult to leave
enter'.[45] Another explanation is given by Abhayadeva in his scholium o
in it he lists 10 (12) places where one should not kindle grass fires be
killing living beings: *vṛttâkāra-nady-ādy-udaka-kuṭila-gatiyukta-pradeśe*
place where a river or the like makes a sinuous winding' (*Ṭikā* 162, 14).

The correct understanding of *valaya* requires taking into accou
elements: the Sūy context, the other items in the stock phrase (vs. 5,
Viy 12, 5, 449 they are *bhāva*, elsewhere *davva*), and finally the n
comments. In our Sūy reference I think the meaning 'cave' or 'dit
probable than one in which water is involved. The same holds tru
metaphoric *valaya* ('deceit'). But I don't have enough references

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43 Keith, A. B. *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* (Cambridge [Mass.]
345 f.

44 Sic lege for C (111, 10) °*vārā gaḍḍā parikkho vā* and P °*vāro gaḍḍā-parikk*
Sūy 1, 3, 3, 1).

45 *Yatrôdakaṃ valayâkāreṇa vyavasthitam udaka-rahitā vā gartā duḥkha-nirga*
(Tīkā I 89 b 9); on Āyār 2, 3, 3, 2 however, he gives a different explanation: *nady-*
bhūmi-bhāgaḥ, i.e. 'island' (Tīkā II 351 a 9).

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nentaries at hand for a statement of—when *valaya* became connected with r.

As for the etymology, it is difficult indeed to decide between a real MI lopment from √ *vṛt* and a member of a Dravidian word family.[45] More- the two principal meanings can appertain to homonyms, and Amg. *valaya* e' or 'ditch' could possibly be linked to Ṛgvedic Vala, i.e. to √ *vṛ*, and/or n *vallis* which Walde connects with a root **ual*, **uel* 'to bend'.[47]

10. *saṃvīya*

Occasionally we meet in the Āgamas with references telling us that monks sometimes abused and even maltreated, the latter e.g. at Sūy 1, 3, 1, 16 : a sh monk thinks of his relatives when *daṇḍeṇa saṃvīe muṭṭhiṇā adu phaleṇa* Jacobi translates *saṃvīe* by 'hurt', as did Jinadāsa (*samprahataḥ*) and ka before him (*praḥataḥ*), but Schubring by '[as if] covered', because he rently held *saṃvṛta* to be the etymon, whereas the commentators sanskritiz- by *saṃvīta* which, however, cannot signify 'hit' or 'hurt'. Therefore, we be confronted with another etymon, viz. the causative perfect participle of √ *vij*, equivalent to Sa. *saṃvejita* 'frightened' (MW), Pāli (also) *saṃvijita* d with fear' (PED). Amg. *saṃvīya* apparently is a contraction from *viyiya*, for which see Pischel § 165, and occurs only here.

11. *sahiya*

Though this word is by no means rare, it offers a problem, because it has than one etymological possibility. The solution of this problem is made difficult by the absence of a canonical concordance. Some instances from lier Āgama texts will illustrate this. At Āyār 1, 3, 2, 1 qualities of a sage cribed : *vivitta-jīvī uvasante samie sahie sayā jae*. Jacobi translated *sahie* rdance with Śīlâṅka[48] by 'endowed (with knowledge)', Schubring by plished';[49] Jinadāsa was in doubt about what was meant.[50] Cf. Sūy 1, not rendered by Jacobi) and 2, 1, 60 (Jacobi : 'wise'). In this case noliasts waver between *sa-hita* and *sva-hita*, Utt 15, 1 *moṇaṃ carissāmi a dhammaṃ s a h i e ujju-kaḍe niyāṇa-chinne* is apparently considered t by Jacobi 'He who adopts the Law in the intention to live as a monk,

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Cf. M. Mayrhofer, *Concise Ethymological Sanskrit Dictionary* (Heidelberg, 1976), *ya*.

Walde, A. *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1954), p. 729.

Jñānâdibhiḥ sahitaḥ (Ṭ I 146a 2).

In German 'fertig' (*Worte Mahāvīras*, p. 82).

Nāṇâdi-sahito ahavā vivitta-jīvitteṇa uvasameṇa samitīhi ya samayâgatatthā sahito 14, 5).

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should live in company (with other monks), upright and free from to
On this rendering Alsdorf remarks: "this is directly contradicted by the
of the last stanza"[52] and following Schubring[53] he gives 'accomplished' d
version of *sahie*. in

Here *ege sahie carissāmi* (Sūy 1, 4, 1, 1) may be quoted as a pu
Jacobi and Schubring translate it 'wise' and 'fertig' respectively, but F
'without companion', because he chooses to read '*sahie*.[54] The latter
ever, is impossible at Āyār 1, 3, 3, 5 *sahie dhammā āyāya seyaṃ aṇupassai*
stands at the beginning of the stanza, and also at Sūy 1, 2, 3, 12 cd *eva*
hi pāsae āya-tulaṃ pāṇehi saṃjae (cf. 19 cd). Jacobi thinks *sahie* in the f
means 'the gifted man (with knowledge etc.)' and 'wise', respectively, w
Schubring has 'accomplished' in both cases. Finally Utt 15, 5 *se sa*
vvae tavassī sahie āya-gavesae, sa bhikkhū and 15 (..) *sahie khey'-aig*
be mentioned. In the former passage Jacobi rendered *sahie* by 'lives
with other monks', the second he and Charpentier held to be an interp
whereas Alsdorf translated *sahie* in both cases by 'accomplished'.[55]

In nearly all the above references the context seems to point to an a
mate meaning of 'composed, collected, without attachment and partic
calm, or conscientious'. This holds true for Sūy 1, 2, 1, 13 *evaṃ sahie*
aṇihe se puṭṭhe 'hiyāsae' in this way (a monk) should see the matter a
struck (by something) patiently bear (it)'[57] and its near parallel 1,
aṇihe sahie su-saṃvuḍe (translation as at 1, 4, 1, 1 supra).

In a note on the former passage Jacobi remarks that he derives *sa*
Sa. *sahṛdaya:* "the correct Prākrit for which would be *sahiyae*"
Grammar § 150, however, declines to accept the apocope of a final syllab
word = **sahṛd* with a regular descent to[58] the *a*-declension". Accordi
Petrograd Dictionary, *sahṛdaya* in the AV means 'cordial', to whic
Williams adds 'sensible, Intelligent' from Kāvya literature. Both mea
not satisfactory for *sahiya*. I am unable to offer a definite solution,[59] b

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51 SBE vol. 22, p. 69.—Śāntisūri's gloss runs: *s a h i t a ḥ samyag-darśanā*
sādhubhir vêti gamyate svasmai hitaḥ sva-hito vā sad-anuṣṭhāna-karaṇataḥ (ed Bo
414a 4).

52 "Uttarajjhāyā Studies", in: IIJ 6 (1962), p. 121 = *Kleine Schriften*
1974), p. 236.

53 In the Glossar of his *Ācāraṅga-Sūtra*, s. v. *sādh*.

54 "Itthīparinnā" IIJ 2 (1958), p. 262 = *Kleine Schriften*, p. 206.

55 Thus Schubring and Alsdorf read for *kheyâṇugae* (see Alsdorf, *Kleine Schri*

56 *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

57 Here Jacobi has 'a wise man' for *sahie*, Schubring 'one who underst
Einsichtige"). In this case both scholiasts waver between *sa-hita* and *sva-hita*.

58 Read: change into.

59 A form belonging to the root *sah* is difficult either from the formal (*sahita*

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draw the attention to *sahita*, the etymon given by the commentaries, in As noted by Schubring,[60] it never occurs without a word that determines so it is found as *sahitaṃ-vata* at *Jātaka* V 320, 21,* used of a *tāpasa* (25' ed by *sīlâcāra -sampanna*) and as *sahita-bbata* at VI 525,4* where it is the e of *brāhmaṇo* and glossed by *samādilnna-vato gahita-tāpasa -veso* (6').

or the present, I am in favour of *sva-hita* ' of advantage to oneself, having to one's own interests/ having one's o.i. in mind.'[61]

12. Pāli *hatthâpalekhama*

n a previous paper[62] I dealt with a kind of non-Buddhist mendicant, the *alekhana*, who is found in the Tipiṭaka (*Dīgha-Nikāya* I 166 f. etc,) and *tavistara* in a stock list of heretics. After some eight centuries the exact g of the word in question was no loger known to Buddhaghoṣa, and even to us. I translated it ten years ago by ' he licks (or: scrapes, or: wipes off) d (s) '. The canonical text does not inform us at which occasion the men- icked etc. his hand, but the scholiast, or his source, mentions two possi- (1) *hatthe piṇḍamhi niṭṭhite jivhāya hatthaṃ apalikhati* ' when someone alms of food in his hand he licks off his hand with his tongue ' and *cāraṃ vā katvā hatthasmiṃ yeva daṇḍaka-saññī hutvā hatthena apalikhati* vacuation he wipes (himself) off with his hand considering his hand a ' (literally : ' as far as his hand is concerned having the notion of a ').

ong the translators Miss Horner[63] and Rhys Davids[64] opted for the terpretation and I was inclined to follow them until I recently discover- relevant passages in Jaina literature which made me change my mind d of Buddhaghoṣa's alternative. Moreover, it is often the case in ries that the author dares not suppress an older authority and there- his own opinion before that of his predecessor. In our case Buddha- have thought of Vinaya IV 198, 5 where rules of etiquette at meals nks are laid down : *na hatta-nillehakaṃ bhuñjissāmi* ' I shall not lick ds at/after a meal (but use water to wash them) '.

Ardhamāgadhī references mentioned above are *Nisīhasutta* 1, 40 ≠ 2,26 has a heterodox person or a layman prepare a piece of wood or a

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ahya) point of view though fundamentally *sahita* can also be active, cf. e.g. in Homer.

ṅga-Sūtra, Glossar, p. 106 s. v. *sādh.*

erman : ' der eigenen Person frommend; der eigenen Person gewogen '.

merkungen zum buddhistischen Häretikerbild ", ZDMG 121 (1971), pp. 72 ff.

dle Length Sayings I (Londaon, 1954), p. 103 f.; II (Londoп, 1957), p. 7.

gues of the Buddha, SBB II (London, 1899), p. 227.

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staff or a scraper or a bamboo needle ... (2, 26 ; prepares him on which Jinadāsa has the following scholion : ' a *daṇḍa* arm-length, is as large as the monk himself, an *avale-haṇiya* is a knife-like remove monsoon mud[66] from the feet.[67] Judging from this passage think that the *avalehaṇ(iy)ā* was given its name after its function. reference, however, appears to refer to the material : in *Thāṇanga* fou are mentioned out of which handles are made : bamboo root (?), Tāmbaḍu grass[68] and *avalehaṇiya*.[69] Abhayadeva opines the latter very thin bark scraped off bamboo cane etc.[70]

In the light of this Jaina material the *hatthâpalekhana* as compound could be a man ' whose scraper is his hand ' i.e. who scra with his hand. What he scrapes off is not expressed, but we may p a hint from the context. In this connection mention must also be additional remark by Buddhaghoṣa which Rhys Davids once styl curious piece of old folklore as his reason for his information "[71] : toilet wood (?) they call " *satta* " '.[72] Does that mean that these mendicants consider a *daṇḍaka* a living being or to contain life reason at any rate Jain *sādhu*s are not allowed to clean themselves ation by means of pieces of wood, a leaf etc.[73]

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65 *Je bhikkhū daṇḍayaṃ vā laṭṭhiyaṃ vā avalehaṇiyaṃ vā veṇu-sūiyaṃ vā vā gāra-tthieṇa vā parighaṭṭāvei* (.....). In 2,26 *avalehaṇaṃ* is found instead

66 *Daṇḍo* (!) *bāhu-ppamāṇo, laṭṭhi* (!) *āya-ppamāṇā, avalehaṇiyā vāsāsu k kṣurikā-vat* (.....) *parighaṭṭaṇaṃ avalihaṇaṃ* (.....).

67 Cf. NisBh 709 *uḍu-baddhe raya- haraṇaṃ vāsā-vāsāsu pāya-lehaṇiyā*; C *pāyalehaṇiyāe kaddamo avaṇijjai*.

68 *Cattāri keaṇā pannattā, taṁ jahā* : *vaṃsī-mūla-keaṇae meṇḍa-visāṇa- avalehaṇiya-k*. (Ṭhā 4, 2, 293 [*Suttâgame* I 233, 24, ff.]).

69 Schubring, *Doctorine of the Jainas* § 168 takes *go-muttiyā* to be a text the urine of a cow (which produces a zigzag line on the ground while it is passed walks) and cut in that way, but I would prefer to connect it with Sa. *gomutri* grass Tāmbaḍu ' (MW<Lexx.).

70 *Avalikhyamānasya vaṃśa-śalākâder yā pratanvī tvak, sā avalekhanikèti*

71 Rhys Davids, *loc. cit.*, note 2.

72 *Te kira daṇḍakaṃ " satto " paññāpenti* (*Papañcasūdanī* II 43, 32). T evidence in Pāli for *daṇḍaka* in this sense (the article is called *avalekhana-kaṭṭha* 141, 24), but cf. perhaps *daṇḍaya* in Nisīha 1, 40 *supra*.

73 *Je bhikkhū uccāra-pāsavaṇaṃ pariṭṭhavettā kaṭṭheṇa vā kiliñceṇa vā aṅg vā puñchai* (.....), Nisīha, 4, 107; a leaf (*patta*) is mentioned between *kiliñca* NisBh 1875.

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FROM MAHĀYĀNA TO HĪNAYĀNA : A STUDY IN CAMBODIAN BUDDHISM

By

VIJAY KUMAR THAKUR*

Upon an area of seventy thousand square miles in the valley of the Mekong, which about forty per cent area is arable, Combodia has a sparse popula- f which the Khmers make seventy per cent. These Khmers represent a Mon type that originated and developed in Cambodia and, therefore, are ' Mon-Khmers ' as distinct from Mons of other regions like Burma and Historiographically speaking, Cambodia is included in a large land-block Asia, called ' Greater India ' by Indian historians and ' *L'ind Exterieure* ' nch. The reason behind such nomenclatures is the understanding that it dian cultural influence that acted as the most dominant and formative gical force. Their socio-cultural patterning as well as political and reli- leas and institutions derived a lot from late early medieval Indian *melieu*, h so that Coedes calls them, " Hindu States "[1] and " Indianised States ".[2]

ambodia had a predominantely Brāhmaṇical culture after it came into a'ith India. Her kings bore Sanskrit names; government and polity was ype of the contemporary Indian system; society was hierarchical and chy was based on Indian caste system; the *brāhmaṇa*s enjoyed the most place in the social ranking; Sanskrit learning flourished and Indian ad a dominating status in the Khmer society. In Funan, which was a du state, however, there was not only a Buddhist population, but even of high rank who had important royal assignments. According to Buddhist priest Nāgasena was deputed to Chinese emperor by a King From the Chinese side we get the information that Nāgasena repor- mperor that Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism were flourishing side by nan.[3] It has been suggested that Nāgasena in order to please the ldhist emperor made an overstatement about Buddhism,[4] but, it is Buddhism, though not like Brāhmaṇism, had already been brought r land. Between Funan and Kambuja there existed, even after their close connection and, if there were Buddhists in Funan, they must Kambuja too.

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ajjobagh, Patna-800 001.

s, G. *Les Stats Hindouises de indochine et d'indonesie* (Paris, 1944).

The Indianised States of South East Asia (Honolulu, 1968).

lly, R. *The Culture of South-east Asia* (London, 1958), p. 112.

g. *Buddhism in East Asia* (New Delhi, 1966), p. 92.

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The sources of the history of Cambodia are mainly inscriptional a basically religious in nature and, therefore, it is not possible to know exact incidence of Buddhism among the Khmers in early period or th which it was practised. The inscriptions, however, make it clear that witnessed its full flowering in this period. From a study of these re obvious that many kings professed developed *Mahāyāna* Buddhism little different from the contemporary Brāhmaṇical religion. This pr practice, made easier the accommodation of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism prevailing Brāhmaṇical/Hindu system of Cambodia.

Since its origin as an independent Buddhist sect, Mahāyānism close to Brāhmaṇism. Its speculative philosophies, institutional emerging practices seemed more Brāhmaṇical than Buddhist. The form of Buddhism had been quite dissimilar to Brāhmaṇism, rather it ed to some of the major Brāhmaṇical ideas and institutions. But the almost bridged this gap, for its form of worship as well as ideological tions almost corresponded to Brāhmaṇical religion. This process logical end towards the 9th-10th centuries A.D. when the Buddha accepted as one of the incarnations of the Brāhmaṇical god, differences between developed Mahāyānism and Brāhmaṇism became that some of the deities were interchangeable and the forms of wors alike. In fact, the two seemed to be different sects of the same religion. *Mahāyāna* Buddhism had hardly any difficulty in getting accommod the system of Hindu Brāhmaṇical culture that prevailed amongst t The Angkor Kings, like Dharaṇīdhara Varman II, Indravarman, Jaya and others, who professed *Mahāyāna* Buddhism of the Indian form thereby deviating from the State's established religion. These Kin the Mahāyānist faith in the inscriptions, but they do so without tre yānism as something separate from Brāhmaṇical religion. The Budd invoked along with Brāhmaṇical deities, though the kings fully *Trikāya* doctrine, *i.e.* the concept of the Buddha functioning in th bodies, which is the fundamental doctrine of Mahāyānism. In th inscription of Udayārka-Varman, dated 989, may be cited. It recor ration of a *liṅga* (phallic image of Śiva) in course of which three those of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the Buddha were added to it and the was converted into a four-faced Śiva—a deity quite unknown to Indi ical tradition. The inscription, while giving reason for this new crea Śiva, though one and indivisible, as divided in his functions which t images are made to symbolise.[5] Thus, the Angkor kings do not seem of any distinction between Mahāyānism and Hindu Brāhmaṇical r

5 Majumdar, R. C. (ed.) *Inscriptions of Kambuja* (Calcutta, 1953)

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tuation is further corroborated by the custom of providing accommodation for uddhists in the *āśramas* round the temples. An *āśrama*, which was basically a minary of learning, had as its inmates teachers and students of different religious ects. The normal practice current at that time was to provide residence in the *śramas* sect-wise. The *Saugatas*, which was the current name for Buddhists, were ssigned quarters in these *āśramas*, obviously because they were treated as yet nother sect of the dominant Brāhmaṇical religion. The history of *Mahāyāna* uddhism in Cambodia is, therefore, quite interesting, for it was operating rough-out within the Brāhmaṇical framework and as a sect of this religion.

Mahāyāna Buddhism had, however, a chequered course of development in ambodia. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing suggests that Buddhism flourished in unan in early times, but was then subverted by a wicked king whose identity not established.[6] The religion was, however, revived but the epigraphic data a whole, indicates that Buddhism was never a dominant religion in Kambuja l the time of Jayavarman VII (A.D. 1181-1201). Even the patronage of this eat emperor could not establish *Mahāyāna* Buddhism as a state religion, ther it paved the way for Hīnayānism. It is worthwhile to mention in this ntext that the description of Cambodian religion given by Cheu Ta-Kuan, o visited the country in A.D. 1296, makes it clear that *Hīnayāna* Buddhism s flourishing at that time.[7]

Why did this change take place immediately after the reign of Jayavarman I ? A study of the magnificent temples reveals, on the one hand, the architecal brilliance and on the other hand, a drain of economic resources for nonuctive works, in the classical period of Cambodian civilization. Thousands llages were assigned for the maintenance of these temples, while tens of ands of officials, priests, slaves and hundreds of dancing girls and musicians employed in their service, not to mention the army of labourers, masons, ors and decorators required for the constructional work. The reign period avarman VII, who is regarded as the greatest Khmer King, represented the of Cambodia, but he impoverished the people with heavy taxation and ble demands for forced labour and military service for the construction aintenance of these temples[8] which ultimately proved disastrous to the om. Incidentally, Jayavarman VII was the last great builder among Angkor Even the hundreds of inscriptions found in Kambuja hardly contain anyf historical importance; they were composed to eulogize and glorify the their ancestors and the eminent ecclesiasts who served under them. It

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Takakusu, J. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay igo (A.D. 671-695) I-tsing* (London, 1896), p. 12.

Majumdar, R. C. 'Buddhism in South East Asia', *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, XII, nos. 2 and 3, p. 299.

Hall, D. G. E. *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 111.

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nowhere refers to the people or the condition of society and there is hardly any word to indicate the people's attitude towards the throne and the pampered priesthood. It was tacitly taken for granted that the King representing divinity was beyond criticism and the overgrown priestly corporation a necessity to keep up regular temple-worship, supposed to ensure welfare of the realm.[9] The skill, labour and resources of the subjects were exploited without any check and the sufferers could not raise their voice. A wide gap separated the top of the society from its bottom, where discontent, born of social injustice, went on increasing with the result that very often there were ominous spells of inaction and violent outbreaks making the broad-based stability of the state an anachronism.

It was in such an atmosphere of pessimism that a new factor came to be introduced in the social life of this caste-ridden, priest-dominated country in the form of a new faith which quickly absorbed in its fold the long ignored inconsequential commonalty, while royalty and nobility still clung to the state's venerable old traditions whose foundations were gradually being sapped one by one. And, within a very short period the new faith with a new message and hope as well as a new sense of direction became quite popular with the people who embraced it in large numbers.

We, however, do not know precisely how and when Cambodia was converted to *Theravāda* Buddhism, but, probably the earliest evidence of its existence in this country comes from the time of Suryavarman I dated in the year 944-947 from Lopburi in the modern temple of Bang Pahin, but, it was brought from Lopburi in Siam.[10] The inscription records an order of King Suryavarman laying down the regulation that in all sacred places, temples, monasteries and hermitages, the ascetics, the *sthaviras* (monks of the little vehicle) and the monks of *Mahāyāna* sect were required to offer to the King the merit of their austerities.[11] This evidence hardly indicates anything other than the mere introduction of *Theravāda* Buddhism in this period. It, however, manifests itself clearly in an inscription in a private temple (c. A.D. 1230) in the reign of Indravarman II who was himself a Buddhist King.[12] Unlike other inscriptions this inscription is partly in Pāli and partly in Khmer and, after an invocation to *Triratna* (i.e. the three gems—the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṁgha*) it refers to the reigning King Śrī Indravarman who gave permission to a lady, a lay-devotee (*Upāsikā*) to build a *vihāra* and instal a Buddha-image. The king then donated four villages to the temple and eight plots of land to the priests. This inscription is significant, because, it is written in the sacred language of *Theravāda*

9 Majumdar, R. C. *Kambujadeśa*, p. 179; Sharan, M. K. *Studies in Sanskrit Inscriptions of Cambodia*, p. 216.

10 Majumdar, R. C. *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 139, p. 343.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*, no. 188, pp. 533-35.

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Buddhism and its text proclaims that the temple is intended for the worship of the Buddha-image (*Buddha pūjā*).[13] The inscription also makes it clear that *Theravāda* Buddhism was firmly rooted in Cambodia by this time and was so deeply entrenched in the soil within a century that King Jayavarman Parameśvara (A.D. 1327), in spite of his upbringing in the traditional faith and ideology of Angkor temples, chose to embrace this new faith which is evident from his advice to his son-in-law, Fa-Ngun of Laos, to govern in accordance with Buddhist principles and his gift of a codex of Pālī scriptures to him. The most significant development that took place during his reign was that the Sanskrit language had gone out of use and Pālī became the official language, although at Angkor the royal patronage was still being given to Sanskrit.[14] The wide popularity of *Theravāda* Buddhism towards the end of the fourteenth century is further attested by the eye-witness account of the Chinese envoys under the leadership of Chou Ta-Kuan who happened to visit Cambodia at this time.[15]

The ground for this widespread popularity of *Theravāda* Buddhism was no doubt prepared by the autocratic regimes of the pre-Jayavarman VII Kings and Jayavarman VII himself. But, this was certainly not a cause of such proportions so as to completely change the course of religious history of Cambodia; external factors were also responsible for the introduction and propagation of *Theravāda* Buddhism in Cambodia. Were the Siamese monks pioneeers of *Theravāda* Buddhism in Cambodia ?[16] The matter becomes a little confusing due to an explicit hostility between the Siamese and Khmer monks on this point; while the Siamese monks assert their effective role in the propagation of *Theravāda* Buddhism in Cambodia. the Khmer monks are somewhat reluctant to give this credit to their Siamese counterparts. Presently, *Theravāda* Buddhism in Cambodia is roughly divided into two sects, but, they do not differ in doctrines but in certain forms of *Vinaya* observance. The older and more numerous of the two is *Mahānikāya* and the younger *Dhammayutta*. Surprisingly, both these sects regard certain Siamese texts as fundamental and amongst them the *Mangalatthadippini*, composed by Śrī Mangala, a venerable monk well-versed in three *piṭakas* (c.A.D. 1469) and living at a solitary place at Mavapura (Chiengmai in northern Siam) is the most outstanding. The prestige this work enjoyed amongst the Buddhists of Cambodia, bespeaks, no doubt, the continuing Siamese influence.

We possess certain definite facts regarding the Siamese origin (about the middle of the eighteenth century A.D.) of the *Dhammayutta* sect. It was found-

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13 *Ibid.*, pp. 533-35, Verse 1.

14 Cady, J. F. *South East Asia : Its historical development*, p. 108.

15 Hall, D. G. E. *op.cit.*, p. 115.

16 R. C. Majumdar takes it to be an unadulterated political development. According to him, the political dominance of the Thais (of Siam) in Cambodia established the supremacy of *Hīnayāna* Buddhism (*The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, nos. 2 and 3, p. 299).

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ed by King Monkut of Siam, who is said to have met a Mon-monk by chance and came under his influence. It seems that Mongkut was himself some sort of a philosopher who did a lot of thinking over matters temporal. If tradition is to be believed, he was well-versed in western lore and doubts sometimes crossed his mind whether monastic life as it was in Siam could justify its existence in the modern world. It was the Mon-monk who is said to have dispelled his doubts. The King set before himself the task of reforming Siamese monasticism which finally resulted in the foundation of an altogether new sect of monks, called *Dhammayutta* (A.D. 1883). After a while it spread to Cambodia and Laos.[17]

The Buddhist monks of Cambodia are not ready to accept it and they deny Siamese influence on Combodian Buddhism on the following grounds:

(i) Chou Ta-Kuan refers only to Cambodian monks who fit in the description given by him ;[18]

(ii) The *Mangalattha-dippini* is not a Siamese work. It was composed in Chiengmai when this region formed a part of Laos and may, therefore, be properly regarded as a Laotion rather than a Siamese work ;[19]

(iii) It were not the Siamese monks who introduced *Theravāda* Buddhism in Cambodia, a few old inscriptions of this country testify to the existence of *Theravāda* Buddhism in Cambodia long before A.D. 1230.[20]

As is obvious, these objections of the Cambodian monks are based on flimsy grounds and in the light of historical developments in this part of the world, these argument can be outrightly rejected.[21]

The old faith, i.e. the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, almost completely disappeared with the fall of old regime in A.D. 1431 and the manner in which it was suddenly finished is a sad commentary on the state of affairs obtaining in Cambodia in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D. With its numerous gods and their costly statues and images, its vast temple complex and numerous works of art Angkor, the heart of Khmer civilisation, lay paralysed under the threat of Siamese invasion. This was nothing new. In fact, there was an old rivalry between Siam and Cambodia and it was not for the first time that the two countries were poised for a showdown. Cambodia had many a time successfully thwarted the Siamese invasion and some of the action even took place on the Cambodian

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17 Dhaninivat, Prince. *A History of Buddhism in Siam*, pp. 32-33.

18 Macdonald, M. *Angkor*, p. 47.

19. Benedict, P. K. 'Language and Literature of Indo-China', *Far Eastern Quarterly* Vol. VI, nos. 1-4 (August, 1947), pp. 387-88.

20 Cf. Majumdar, R. C. *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, no. 139, p. 343.

21 Bapat says that *Dhammayutta* sect descended from the *Rāmañña* sect of Lower Burma (P. V. Bapat, *op.cit.*, p. 138). In Cambodia, the difference between the two sects is confined mainly to the pronouncing of Pāli word and to very minor rules of conduct (*Ibid*).

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soil. But, this time when the capital was faced with a threat of total annihilation the people behaved strangely and abnormally. They quickly evacuated the capital city as though it were a lost case. Not a single person came from amongst the masses to save the city and its hoarded monumental treasures as though the city with its religious monuments was none of their concern.[22] The only plausible explanation of this abnormal attitude of the people could be their total indifference towards the *Mahāyāna* religious establishments as well as their conviction that despite their best efforts, the city could not be saved. In fact, the city with all its religious structures, stood for a scheme of life and system of faith on which the outlook of the Khmers had completely changed meanwhile. The most potent factors responsible for this change were the teachings of *Theravāda* Buddhism and by A.D. 1431 the Cambodians in general had adopted Buddhism of this school.

The *Theravāda* Buddhism which developed as a new faith had no alliance with the old regime and its almost obsolete traditions. It had a completely independent existence and came to the people independently and continued on its own unlike the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism which had existed only under the patronage and allowance of the Brāhmaṇical state religion.[23] Consequently, it was free to attack the evils of existing socio-religious set-up and thereby become the religion of the common masses. It struck at the very roots of caste, priesthood and the divinity of Kingship by its simple message of the power of *karma* (deeds) unheard of before by the Khmers. It unequivocally declared "None is by birth a *Brāhmaṇa* : none by birth a non-*Brāhmaṇa;* by deed is one a *Brāhmaṇa*, by deed a non-*Brāhmaṇa*. By deed one is a farmer and by deed an artisan, a trader, a soldier, a celebrant and so a *rājan* (King)".[24] This new teaching that a man's rank in the society was to be judged solely on the basis of the merit of his deeds, and not on account of his birth, smashed the edifice of the Devarāja Cult,[25] the priestly pretensions and the privileged position of the *Brāh-*

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22 *Journal of Siam Society*, Vol. XXVII, p. 203.

23 In this respect it completely differed from Indian Buddhism which had originated against the existing socio-economic and religious structure that recognised a caste structure with *brāhmaṇas* at the top. It is equally interesting to note that there is not a single record which could show any sign of bitterness between the Brāhmaṇical religion, and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism (B. N. Puri, 'Buddhism in Ancient Kambujadeśa' *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 313). The patronising nature of Brāhmaṇism was such that the Buddha was even accorded a place in the Brāhmaṇical trinity. The identification of Śaivism and Buddhism was total and the trinity came to be composed of Padmodbhava (Brahmā), Ambhojanetra (Viṣṇu) and the Buddha (R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, no. 156, p. 399).

24 *Sutta-Nipāta*, pp. 650-55, (Cf. Coomarswamy and Horner, *The Living Thoughts of Gautama, the Buddha*, London, 1948).

25 The Devarāja cult had given some sort of spiritual sanction for divinity of the King and secured his hereditary position irrespective of his deeds (M. K. Sharan, *op.cit.*, pp. 257-58).

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maṇas.[26] The Brāhmaṇical civilisation based on these principles now appeared to be in direct contrast with the true religion : a sham and delusion. Naturally, the architectural and artistic works, the seminaries of Sanskrit learning, the temples and images at Angkor-all these apparitions of Khmer civilisation raised no emotional response in the people's minds and they fled away from them, at the first opportunity they got, like the early Christian converts fleeing from the pomp, shows and varieties of pagan civilisation.[27]

The new religion was very humane in approach and it became popular because it took up cudgels to destroy the age old evils of the society and provide a healthier atmosphere for the common man. The *Theravāda* Buddhism delivered a message of liberation for those who were conditioned to look upon their Kings as god. To accept as divinely ordained the caste-ridden society and the social melieu it created, as well as to rely on the ministrations of the *Brāhmaṇa* priests for individual and collective welfare was a human monstrosity; the new order emphatically advocated the worth of man as man, laid stress on *bhavana* (becoming), i.e. the process of an 'individual's growing through self culture and self-knowledge from more to more', and for refuge in life's trials and tribulations, substituted for the old stone—the gods—the holy trinity of Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṁgha*. This was a revolutionary teaching for the contemporary socio-political life of Combodia.

Equally revolutionary was the method of propagation of *Theravāda* Buddhism. The new monk-preachers were completely different from the high-brow priests who used to teach the sanctions and injunctions of religion. The monks of the new order did not speak of them *ex-cathedra*, but as man to man. They were simple, sympathetic, helpful and intimate with common people, and their aim was to win the hearts of the masses. Their approach was down to the earth and their greatest achievement was the fact that they released the common man from the service of "the greedy gods" whose yoke had so long been a crushing burden both economically and spiritually. This ability to represent the masses, which was absent from the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, strengthened the roots of *Theravāda* sect in Combodia.

Cambodia as a Buddhist country is perhaps the youngest in South-East Asia and has a stronghold of *Theravāda* Buddhism, which is evident from the fact that this small country has at present as many as 2,800 monasteries with 82,000 monks and novices.[28] Further, more than 187 volumes, mostly on religi-

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26 Political importance attached to the Devarāja cult guaranteed the continued influence of Śaivite *Brāhmaṇa* caste or *hotras* in the courts (*Ibid.*, p. 173). As soon as the Devarāja cult was smashed, the privileged position of these *Brāhmaṇas* also came to an end.

27 Walker, G. B. *Angkor Empire*, p. 55.

28 Bapat, P. V. *op.cit.*, p. 434.

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ous texts, have been published in the Cambodian language by the various libraries and institutions mostly established by the Government.[29] In Phom-penh arrangements were also made to instruct young monks in Pālī.[30] Undoubtedly, in years before communist take-over Cambodia had made tremendous progress towards the popularisation of Pālī studies and in the education of the monks.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 434-35.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 434.

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PASID PLATES OF PṚTHVĪDEVA II : (KALACHURI) YEAR 893

By

BALCHANDRA JAIN*

These copper plates were found together with the copper-plates of Ratnadeva III[1] by a cultivator in his field at Pasid, a village near Bhatapara in the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. They were purchased by Shri D. R. Kaivartya, head-master of the local Primary School and presented to the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum, Raipur in 1974.

They are two plates, inscribed on one side only. They measure 31 cm. in breadth and 20 cm. in height each. They are in good state of preservation and held together by a ring passing through a hole 1 cm. in diameter, at the top of each plate. To the ring is attached a circular seal (6 cm. in diameter) which contains the representation of the goddess Lakṣmī, four-armed, sitting cross-legged with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head. Below is the legend Rāja-Śrīmat-Pṛthvīdeva in one line. The weight of the two plates together with the seal and ring is 2850 grms.

There are 35 lines in all, 18 inscribed on the first plate and the remaining 17 on the second. Average size of the letters is about 8 mm., which are well-formed and deeply engraved. The grant was written on the plates by the son of Kīrtidhara who was the owner of the village Jaṇdera and engraved by Dharaṇibhṛt. The engraver Dharaṇibhṛt or Dharaṇīdhara is also known from the Paragaon plates of Pṛthvīdeva II.[2] He was son of Lakṣmīdhara. The son of Kīrtidhara who wrote this grant on the copper plates may be Sūpaṭa, the writer of the Paragaon plates.[3]

The *characters* are Nāgarī and the *language* is Sanskrit. Except for *oṁ namo Vrahmaṇe* in the beginning and the date at the end, the whole record is metrically composed throughout. There are twenty-seven verses which are all numbered. The record is carefully written and deeply engraved. As regards *orthographical* peculiarities, we may notice the use of v for b as in Vrahmaṇe in 11. 1-2 ; dental s for the palatal ś as in *sasvat* in 1.4, *saurya* in 1.6 etc. ; and vice versa as in sahaśra in 1.30. Y has been used for j in vayapeya in 1.31 and tāmra is written as tāṁvra in 1.35. The sign of *avagraha* is seen in 11.3, 7, 10 and 13.

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* Dy. Director, Archaeology & Museums, Eastern Region, Jabalpur.

1 Being published separately.

2 Mirashi, *C.s.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 123.

3 *Ibid.*

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The inscription belongs to king Pṛthvideva II of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur and is the seventh known copperplate grant of that king.[4] The object of this inscription is to record the grant of the village *Dugara* situated in the Sāmanta-paṭṭī, by king Pṛthvīdeva II to the Brāhmaṇa Pārāśara, the son of Mahādhana and the grandson of Gaṅgādhara of the Bhāradvāja kula. The grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The plates were issued on Thursday, the 8th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *kārtika* in the year 893 of an unspecified era which must be the Kalachuri era. In the expired Kalachuri year 893, there was a solar eclipse on the preceding *Āśvina Amāvasyā* which fell on Tuesday, the 2nd September 1141 A.D. The 8th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *kārtika* in K.Y. 893 irregularly corresponds to Friday, the 10th October 1141 A.D. In the current Kalachuri year 893, the *tithi* fell on the 29th October 1142 which was a Thursday but there was no solar eclipse in that month or the preceding one.

The inscription begins with adoration to Brahman. Then, the record mentions the Sun, Manu and Kārtavīrya and states that the descendants of the mythical king Kārtavīrya were known as Haihayas. In their family was born the famous king Kokkala (or Kokalla). He had eighteen sons. The eldest son became the ruler of Tripurī. He made his brothers the lords of *maṇḍala*s by his side. In the family of a younger brother was born Kaliṅgarāja. His son was Kamalarāja. The son of Kamalarāja was Ratnarāja who married Nonallā. Their son was Pṛthvīdeva I. The son of the queen Rājallādevī begotten by Pṛthvīdeva I was the king Jājalladeva I. His son was Ratnadeva II, the ornament of the whole Kośala country. From Ratnadeva II was born the king Pṛthvīdeva II who issued the present plates.

The genealogy and the description of the donee brāhmaṇa is given in verses 12-15. It is said that in the *kula* of the sage Bhāradvāja, there was a brāhmaṇa named Gaṅgādhara who was well-versed in all the *Purāṇa*s, *Smṛti*s and other *Śāstra*s. His son was Mahādhana. From him was born Pārāśara who was like personified *Dharma* on the earth. Verse 16 states that the village Dugara situated in the Sāmanta-paṭṭī was granted to this *dvija* by the king Pṛthvīdeva (II) on the occasion of the solar eclipse, free of all taxes. The donee Pārāśara is the same as the father of the priest Nāmadeva to whom the village of Bundera was granted by Pṛthvīdeva II's son Jājalladeva II in K. Y. 919 (1167 A.D.),[5] and

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4 Other Copper-plate grants of Pṛthvīdeva II (1) Daikoni plates, year 890, (2) Balaigarh plates, year 896, (3) Paragaon plates, year 897, (4) Amoda plates, year 900, (5) Ghotia plates, year 900 and (6) Amoda plates, year 905. Seven stone inscriptions of this king are also known. He was ruling in Kalachuri Year 915 as known from his Ratanpur stone record.

5 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 99.

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the priest Śaṅkara to whom the village of Vanikā was given in K. Y. 934 by Ratnadeva III, the grandson of Pṛthvīdeva II.[6]

As for the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Tripurī is modern Tewar situated on Jabalpur-Bheraghat road. Kosala is the same as South Kosala country extending over the modern Sambalpur, Bilaspur, Raipur, Durg and Rajnandgaon districts. Jaṇḍera has been identified by Dr. Mirashi with Jondra on the left bank of river Shivanātha. Sāmanta-paṭṭī in which the donated village was situated may be the same as the Sāmanta-maṇḍala of the Ghotia plates.[7] Dugarā may be identified with Dagori on the opposite bank of river Shivanātha in Bilaspur district, about 10 km. N.W. of Pasid.

TEXT[8]

[Metres : *Anuṣṭubh*, verses 1, 8, 11, 17-27; *Upajāti*, verses 2, 5, 12-13; *Mālinī*, verses 14; *Vasantatilakā*, verses 4, 6-7, 10, 15; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, verses 3, 9, 16.]

First Plate (See Third Cover Page)

1 सिद्धिः[9] [।*] ओं नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं
शिवं परमकारणम् । भावग्राह्यं परंज्यो—

2 तिस्तस्मै सद्ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥ १ ॥ यदेतदग्रेसरमम्ब
(म्ब)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य पुत्रो म—

3 नुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभूद्भुवि कार्त्तवीर्यः ॥ 2 ॥ तद्वंश
प्रभवा नरेन्द्रपतयः ख्याताः क्षितौ है—

4 हयास्तेषामन्वयभूषणं रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः ।
धर्म्मध्यानधनानुसंविचितयशाः
स (श) स्व (श्व) त्सतां

5 सौख्यकृत्प्रेयान् सर्व्वगुणान्वितः समभवत्श्री
मानसौ कोक्कलः ॥ 3 ॥ अष्टादशारिकरिकुंभवि—

6 भंगसिंहाः पुत्रा बभूवुरतिसौर्य(शौर्य)पराश्च तस्य । तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश
आसीत्पार्स्वे(र्श्वे) च मंड—

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6 Being published by me.
7 *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 92.
8 From the original plates.
9 Expressed by a symbol.

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7 लपतीन (न्) स चकार वं (बं) धूम् (न्) ॥ 4 ॥
तेषामनूजस्य कलिंगराजः प्रतापवह्नि (ह्नि) क्षपितारिराजः । जातो ऽन्व

8 ये द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननांभोरुहपार्ष (र्ष) (र्व्वे) णेंदुः ॥ 5 ॥ तस्मादपि प्रतनं (त)
निर्म्मलकीर्तिकान्तो जा—

9 तः सुतः कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतरणावुदिते रजन्यां जातो (ता)
नि पंकजवनानि.

10 विकासभांजि ॥ 6 ॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनो ऽजनि रत्नराजो
विस्वो (श्वो) पकारकरुणार्ज्जितपुण्यभारः ।

11 येन स्ववा(बा)हुयुगनिर्म्मितविक्रमेण नीतं यशस्त्रिभुवने विनिहत्य स (श)
त्रून् ॥ 7 ॥ नोनल्लाख्यां (ख्या) प्रिया तस्य [शूर]

12 स्येव हि शूरता । तयोः सुतो नृपश्रेष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो बभूव ह ॥ 8 ॥ पृथ्वीदेवसमुद्भवः
समभवद्राजल्लदे —

13 वीसुतः शूरः सज्जनवांछितार्थफलदः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः । सर्व्वेषामुचितोऽर्च्चने सुमनसां
तीक्ष्णद्विष—

14 त्कंटकः पस्य (श्य) त्की (कां) ततरांगनां—
गमदनो जाजल्लदेवो नृपः ॥ 9 ॥ तस्यात्मजः
सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः श्रीमान्स

15 माहृतसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः । सर्व्वक्षितीश्वरसि (शि) रोविहितांहिसेवः सेवामृतां
निधिरसौ भुवि रत्न—

16 देवः ॥ १० ॥ पृथ्वीदेवस्ततो जो (जा) तः
पोतः कंठीरवादिवः (व) । सिंहसंहननो योरिकरि—
यूथमपोथयत् ॥ ११ ॥

17 तदा पुराणस्मृतिशास्त्रवेत्ता नेता समस्तो—
चित्तसत्कि (क्कि) याणां । गंगावरो नाम निकामरम्यो द्वि—

18 जो भरद्वाजकुले किलासीत (त्) ॥ १२ ॥
त्रयीविदामाद्यतमो नमस्यस्तस्मात्सदाचारविवे—

Second Plate (See Third Cover Page)

19 कराशिः । व (ब) भूव भूदेवकुलाब्ज (ब्ज)
सूर्यो महाघना (नो) धन्यतमस्तनूजः ॥ १३ ॥
तदनु मनुजलोका—

20 स्तोककल्याणहेतुः कतु(कृत)युगमिव कुर्व्वल्भू (न्भू)—
तले म (स) चरित्रैः । कृततनुरिव साक्षादेष धर्म्मः क्षमायां

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21 समजनि तनयो ऽस्मादत्र पारासरा (शरा) ख्यः
॥ १४ ॥ यः शब्दशास्त्रविदुषां गुरुरप्रमेयस्तर्क्केष्ठ (ष्व) तर्क्यमतिरे—

22 व पुराणमार्ग्ने (र्गे) । व्र (व्र) होव वेदविषये
स्मृतितत्व (त्त्व) वेत्ता हन्ता समस्तविपदामवनीस्व (श्व) रस्य ॥ 15 ॥ पृथ्वी—

23 देवमहीभुजा द्विजवरा यास्मै (स्मै)
दिनेस (श) ग्रहे संपूर्य स्वकरं पयः
कुस (श) तिलैः सर्व्वैः (सर्व्वैः) करैः
संप्रतः । प्रा—

24 मोयं दुगराभिधानविदितः सामन्तपट्टयां
स्थितो दत्तः प्रीतमनोरथेन कृतिने
पारास (श) राय स्वय

25 म् ॥ १६ ॥ यावत्तपति तिग्मांशुर्यावद्वहति मारुतः । यावदुर्व्वी विभर्त्तीला तावदेष
प्रपाल्यताम् ॥ १७ ॥ सं (शं) खं

26 भद्रासनं छत्रं गजास्व (श्व) वरवाहनग् (म्) ।
भूमिदानस्य चिन्हा (ह्ना)नि फलं स्वर्ग्नः (र्गः)
पुरंदर ॥ १८ ॥ व (ब) हुभिर्व्वसुधा ।[10]

27 भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ १९ ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृ

28 न्हा (ह्णा) ति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्ग्न (र्ग)
गामिनौ ॥ २० ॥ पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजा—

29 तिम्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष पुरंदर । मही (हीं)महीभृतां
श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो हि पालनम् ॥ २१ ॥

30 हरेत् वसुंधराम् । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ २२ ॥
तडागानां सहस्रेण (स्रे)—

31 ण वाय (ज) पेयस(श) तेन च । गवां का (को) टि प्रदानेन
भूमिहर्त्ता न सु (शु) ध्यति ॥ २३ ॥ षष्टिर्व्वं (र्व्वं) षसहस्रा (स्रा)
णि स्वर्ग्ने (र्गे) व—

32 सति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता (न्ता) च तान्येव
नरके वसेत् ॥ २४ ॥ इष्टं दत्तं (त्तं) हुतं चैव यत्किंचिद्धर्म्मसंचितम् ।

33 अर्द्धांगुलेन सीमाया हरणेन प्रणस्यति ॥ २५ ॥ यथाप्सु पतितं स (श)क्त तैलविंदुर्व्वि
सर्प्पति । एवं भू—

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10 This danda is superfluous.

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34 मिकृतं दानं स (श)स्ये स (श)स्ये प्ररोहति ॥ २६ ॥ जंडेरग्रामनाथो य आसीत्कीर्त्ते र्व्व
र: सुतः । तेनेदं लि—

35 खितं तांब्र (ताम्र) मुच्चके धरणीभूता ॥ २७ ॥ संवत् ८९३ कार्त्तिक शुद्ध ८ गुरौ ॥ ९ ॥ ९ ॥

Seal—(See Last Cover Page)

राजा (ज) श्रीमत्पृथ्वीदेव (व:) [।*]

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BOMBAY—AN ANALYSIS OF THE TOPONYM

By

R. N. MEHTA*

To-day, Bombay, a megalopolis of Western India is one of the largest cities in the world. Its name in English is Bombay, but it was known to the Portuguese as Bombaim. This word does not belong to the Portuguese or the English language. Commenting on this word, M. D. David has noted the derivation of Bombay as follows :

" The kolis who succeeded the stone-age men on the island brought with them from Gujarat their patron goddess Mummai whom their descendants still worship in Kathiawar. The name of Bombay is derived from this koli goddess Mumai or Mumbadevi. The temple at first was in the central island which came to be called Mumbai. The portuguese called it Bombaim and the English pronounced it as Bombay. Later the temple was removed to the present site which is known as Mumbadevi.[1]

This is the usual explanation that the island is named after a goddess Mumbai or Mumai. This is the goddess of the kolis according to tho author. These kolis of Bombay unfortunately do not speak Gujarati and a perusal of Gujarati vocabulary does not explain the word. These linguistic and other situations raise a problem of the identification of the origin as well as the meaning of the word Mumbai or Mumbadevi. The perusal of literature of *Śāktapīṭhas*[2] indicates that the name of the goddess does not occur in it. It is also interesting to note that this name is not known in the literature of *śāktas* also. It is therefore very likely that this is a derivative word from a term like Matāmahi. It is significant that Parsis use the word Marmi for grand mother, so the term could be derived from Matāmahī > Māmai > Mamai.

Thus, this absence of the name of the goddess in literature simply indicates that she is possibly a local goddess or *grāmadevatā*, and therefore it begs the question about the meaning of this toponym, that is derived from the name of the goddess.

Historically, it is seen that the control of the area has often changed hands during the period of two thousand years. The Sātavāhanas. Kṣatrapas, Trai-

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* 8, Shreyas Society, Race Course Circle (West), Baroda-390 007.

1 David, M. D., Indian History Congress, Forty First Session, p. 23, where he quotes from his work '*History of Bombay*, 1661-1708', Bombay, 19, p. 6.

2 Sircar D. C., *Śākta Pīṭhas*, published by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, pp. 17-41.

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kuṭakas, Cālukyas of Badami, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their successors went on changing till the Muzaffari Sultans of Gujarat and their allies and the Portuguese contested it. In the 16th century the Portuguese took its possession and passed it on to the British Crown in the 17th century A.D. From the British Crown, the East India Company of English traders hired it. Along with this historical picture if one views the linguistic history of the area, one finds that the languages with the Sanskrit and Dravidian affinities were known in this region. From them it might have possibly acquired this name. This situation has developed an interesting web of Sanskrit and Dravidian languages to use modern terminology or Sanskrit and *Deśya* if one prefers older terminology specially in the toponyms, in Gujarat and Maharashtra.

The word Mumbai can be explained with reference to Sanskrit terms. However a recourse to the Dravidian language is needed for a search of the meaning of this term. This idea was suggested to the author when he examined the term 'MuRki'.[3] Later on Mrs. S. Srinivasan examined the *Deśya* words in Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*. It was discovered that many so called *Deśī* words belonged to the Dravidian roots.[4]

Following this line of investigation one has to study Mumbai. Interestingly Tamil has preserved a word Mumbai from Munci=face and has the sense of 'in front of' 'face' etc. The same term is used in Malayalam in the sense of "in front of, face etc." The cognate words in Kannada and Telugu are Munde and Mundu. The presence of these terms in all the major Dravidian languages suggests that the base for the name of the word Mumbai, is possibly 'Mumb' of Dravidian source and indicates the position of the island in front of the Mainland of India. A word from Tamil Mun[5] is noted as Munmpu= promontory, head-land, tip etc. It also is a highly suggestive term. The term Munmpu could become Mumbu and from it, the word Mumbai could also be derived.

Thus the words indicating this geographical situation are highly suggestive of the meaning of the word Mumbai as the land opposite the main land or tip etc. From this term of the place its *grāmadevatā* would be also known as Mumbadevi or Mumbā-āi. This situation explains the relative insignificance of the name of the place as well as the goddess. The goddess is known after the place of its temple or its worshippers. Some examples of such terms are Arbudā devī, Mukulinī devī, Palinī devī etc. This phenomenon will indicate that Mumbādevī

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3 Mehta, R. N., "Marki or Murki", *Svādhyāya* (Guj.), Vol. VI, No. 2, 1969, pp. 221-223.

4 Srinivasan, Sarada, "Dravidian words in Deśīnāmamālā", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-2, 1971, p. 114 ff.

5 Burrow T. and Emeneau M. B., *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p. 341.

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is the local goddess of Mumbai and is named after the island. It may be pointed out that in Gujarat and Maharashtra region, there are many toponyms of the Dravidian origin. The names like Ten, Karambela, Kerala, Purnā are some of the examples from Saurashtra and Gujarat. Moreover, as already noted earlier, by the 12th century when Hemacandra wrote the *Deśināmamālā*, many Dravidian words were absorbed in the local speech. Thus the linguistic phenomenon of this area is fairly consistent in understanding the toponym, 'Mumbai' which is the Indian form of anglicised "Bombay". It could mean either an island in front of the main land or promontary, tip etc.

Further work on the history of the Dravidian term of this interesting word is necessary to remove any uncertainity of this explanation.

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THE BOSTON VĪṆĀDHARA ŚIVA

By

JOHN STRATTON HAWLEY*

One of the most arresting sculptures in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts contains a flaw, and the flaw accounts for the tentativeness with which the piece has been identified. It is an image of Śiva which Pratapaditya Pal, former curator of the collection, has accurately portrayed as a Cola sculpture dating to approximately 1000 A.D. But what Śiva ? The breakage that extends from the left shoulder to the right knee has so far clouded the answer.

It was with some hesitation that Pal made the suggestion that the missing shape was a musical instrument, probably the *vīṇā*. He felt that other qualities of the image demanded that it be classed as Śiva in the Vīrabhadra mode, one of the fearful aspects of the great god. He drew attention to the necklace of snakes we see, to the drum (*ḍamaru*), and to the staff crowned with a skull (*khaṭvāṅga*). He noted that other South Indian examples of Śiva as Vīrabhadra are altogether different in type from this one, but believed that an analogous piece from Puri justified the identification and postulated that this sculpture had an Orissi prototype.[1]

It is indeed the case that the representation of Śiva found at the Mārkaṇḍeya Sarovara in Puri bears a striking resemblance to the Boston sculpture.[2] Even the breakage seems the same : the shape that once spread across the breast is no more to be seen. Ramaprasad Chanda proposed that this be identified as Vīreśvara, who, along with Gaṇeśa is customarily the guardian of the seven mothers (*sapta mātṛkā*) in medieval statuary.[3] The identification seemed indubitable since all these other figures were also found in the same tank as this image of Śiva. Furthermore, there is a textual authority, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, which states that Vīreśvara in this role should be shown with his bull, have matted locks, and—most crucially—hold the *vīṇā*.[4] In two respects, however, the text

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* Do-21, University of Washington, Seattle, WA-98195, U.S.A.

1 Pal P., " South Indian Sculptures: a Reappraisal," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 67: 350 (1969), pp. 160-162.

2 Chanda Ramaprasad, " Exploration in Orissa," *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 44 (1930), pl. 8, fig. 1.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 14. Cf., Banerjea J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 3rd ed. (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1974), pp. 364, 505.

4 *Matsya Purāṇa* 262:39. More generally on white Bhairavas of the Ruru group, see T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 1 (Madras: Law Printing House, 1916), p. 180.

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matches both the Orissi image and the Cola one imperfectly, for neither sculpture displays the trident or the erect posture which the *Purāṇa* specifies.

It may have been the inexactitude of this scriptural authorization, and perhaps also its relative isolation, that led both Chanda and Pal to stop short of making the confident assertion that these sculptures represent Śiva playing the *viṇā*. However clear the Vīrabhadra or Vīreśvara identification seemed in the Orissi instance, given the other sculptures found at the same site, Pal evidently remained troubled. Whatever the *Matsya Purāṇa* might indicate, the gentle *vīṇā* seemed to go ill with the more horrific aspects of Śiva that seemed to him so obviously indicated in the Boston sculpture by the presence of snake and skull. Hence the *Viṇā*—which, after all, was missing—remained a question mark.

It need not have been so. Other sculptural analogues make the case quite clear, although none of them approximate the modelling of the Boston Śiva with the precision that the Puri piece does. One example comes from the colonnade that surrounds the eighth-century temple of Kailāsanātha at Ellora, where Śiva sits in roughly the same pose as in the Boston piece.[5] Perched atop his vehicle, the bull Nandī, he leans forward slightly from his yogic *padmāsana* pose, displaying the same lithe *dvibhaṅga*. The snake is again present: it replaces the *khaṭvāṅga* as the adornment for the god's back right arm. Most pertinent, Śiva holds the *vīṇā* and it is intact.

In one aspect the Ellora piece departs markedly from the Boston sculpture, for Śiva is not shown alone. His back left arm, instead of being raised to rattle the drum, is extended around the shoulders of his consort, who is shown seated at his side. This feature is not entirely without parallel in sculptures representing Śiva as Vīṇādhara. A somewhat later example comes from the Lakha Mandal temple on the Jumna above Delhi and differs principally from the Ellora piece only in that Śiva and Pārvatī are shown standing.[6] In addition, the Ellora Vīṇādhara has a prototype. In another temple of Kailāsanātha, one fashioned at Kancipuram in the seventh century,[7] Śiva is also shown with his *vīṇā*, seated on Nandī; but there are two significant differences. First, there are only three arms: two are occupied in music-making and the third, the back right, holds the

5 A good drawing may be found in James Burgess, *Ellora Cave Temples* (London: Trubner, 1883), pl. 27, fig. 3. In reality, however, the *déhanchement* is more pronounced than the artist indicates.

6 Sahni Rai Bahadur Daya Ram, "Lakha Mandal," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* 1923-1924, p. 59 and pl. 21, fig. 9. It is noteworthy that Sahni faced the same difficulty in identifying this sculpture as we have been facing. He was unsure whether to identify it as Virabhadra as he (erroneously, I believe) thought Gopinath Rao's authority would have dictated or as a version of Śiva Dakṣiṇāmūrti. He settles for neither and simply calls it a depiction of Śiva and Pārvatī, thus begging the question posed by the presence of the *vīṇā* altogether.

7 Rao, Gopinatha, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 330-331 and pl. 97.

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trident and is coiled about with the snake. Second, the deity is represented as androgynous (*ardhanārīśvara*).[8] It appears that the sculptors of Ellora, in dissociating the male from the female aspects of Śiva, found it convenient to add a back left arm in order to draw the female element into association once again with the male. Otherwise the postures are remarkably similar.

It appears the Cola sculptors preferred to leave to the viewer's imagination the task of conjuring up the female presence associated with Śiva Vīṇādhara: perhaps we are meant to imagine the women who would have studied dance to his tutelage and accompaniment. The other Cola Viṇādhara to have come to my attention also shows Śiva alone. We see him thus on the *grīva* of the temple of Bilvanāthesvara at Tiruvallam.[9] One leg drops to the ground and the other bends across it as he sits on the back of an almost full-sized Nandī. Like its Kancipuram predecessor, it contains only three arms, but in this case the third (back right) arm holds the *khaṭvāṅga*, as at Boston.

One concludes from all this that the Boston Śiva should be identified as of the Vīṇādhara type before anything else is assumed about him. The *vīṇā* he plays belongs to the stick zither variety specified by Sachs and Marcel-Dubois. as do all the other examples we have been considering.[10] But, it bears a special interest because of the bulb one sees so prominently on the shoulder, which would originally have formed part of the instrument. This member, a gourd evidently serving the function of providing both support and resonance, marks the instrument out as of a transitional type between the sort of *vīṇā* which had only one gourd, held at the chest (Marcel-Dubois' type II), and the sort which had two, one near the bottom and one, as here, at the top (Marcel-Dubois' type III).[11] It is noteworthy that this two-gourd *vīṇā* begins to appear in sculpture at just about the time the Boston Śiva was fashioned, hence the transitional character of the *vīṇā* one would have originally seen here is chronologically appropriate. There is an earlier example from the frescoes of Cave XXX at

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8 Cf. the similar, but four-armed, *ardhanārīśvara* at Badami. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pl. 93.

9 Barrett Douglas, *Early Cola Architecture and Sculpture* (London: Faber, 1974), p. 106, pl. 74a.

10 Sachs Curt, *Die Musikinstruments Indiens und Indonesiens* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1915), p. 86. Claudie Marcel-Dubois, *Les Instruments de musique de l'Inde ancienne* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1941), pp. 72-80. This type is to be distinguished from the arched harp variety, which may properly have been termed the *kaśyapī* or *kaccapī* and has a much more ancient pedigree. See E. Wiersma-te Nijenhuis, *Dattilam: A Compendium of Ancient Indian Music* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 84-85 and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "The Parts of a *Vīṇā*" (*JAOS* 50, 1930), pp. 244-253 and "The Old Indian *Viṇa*" *JAOS* 51, 1931), pp. 47-50.

11 *Op. cit.*, p. 77, pl. 9, figs. b and c.

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Ellora, played by a male *gandharva*[12] but this form of the instrument becomes prevalent only after the Boston Cola sculpture and, interestingly, is almost invariably played by women, pre-eminently Sarasvatī. Given the bisexual associations of Śiva as player of the *vīṇā*, perhaps even this is not surprising. While the remnants of the *vīṇā* one once saw here anticipate this newer form, however, they also recall the older one-gourd type, for the thickness just to the right of Śiva's jewelry must originally have been a gourd placed on the chest in just the position one sees in the Ellora Śiva.

The same bulb we see on Śiva's shoulder in Boston is also visible on the shoulder of the sculpture from Puri which persuaded Pal that this Śiva too should be identified as Vīrabhadra or Vīreśvara. But, in that case the identification of Śiva the musician with his more terrifying side was prompted by context. Here, there is none, and other examples of seated Vīṇādharas—not to mention the standing ones—show that this is not the only association that can be made with Śiva's musical mood. In fact, it is the definite exception, and most of the standard emblems of Vīrabhadra are quite absent here : the bow, arrow, club, sword, the garland of skulls, even the *pāduka* sandals.[13]

To be sure, there are reminders of Śiva's sterner side, as Pal has insisted,[14] and indeed Śiva's ascetic reserve is never hid far behind any exuberance. But, the emphasis here is on his gentler side. The snakes, though present, do not writhe erect; they fold around the neck like purest jewelry. And there is nothing intrinsically threatening about the drum. Unlike the fire with which it is paired in images of Śiva as lord of the dance (*naṭarāja*), it signifies not the terror of destruction but the excitement of creation. For all its cosmic capabilities, it is not out of place in this artistic realm : indeed, the cosmic Śiva is an artist, a dancer. It is also possible that Nandi's docile presence is intended to lend a gentle aspect to this portrait of Śiva, for the name derives from a Sanskrit root meaning joy (*nand*).

Nor is the yogic pose jarring. Śiva teaches on the basis of his yogic attainments, instructing the world in self-knowledge as he looks south from the eternal Himalayas to which he is wed. Here, however, he teaches the insight that music brings, inspiring the world to harmony and dance. As in ancient Greece and classical China, Indian tradition maintains that these two, music and erudition, have something fundamental to do with one another. Śiva teaches both, and Sarasvatī, goddess of learning, it typically shown with her *vīṇā*. Hence

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12 Coomaraswamy A. K., " Frescoes at Elūrā," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* N.F. 3 (1926), p. 5, fig. 3.

13 Rao M. Rama, *Śaivite Deities of Āndhradeśa* (Tirupati: Sri Venkatesvara University, 1966), p. 38.

14 *Art. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

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it is probably not accidental that Śiva Viṇādhara is often positioned so as to face south, as at Ellora and Tiruvallam. This is his teaching pose (*dakṣiṇāmūrti*) and Śiva as player of the *vīṇā* is an aspect of Śiva the teacher.[15]

There is much that contrasts between this seated stone Viṇādhara and the standing bronze Viṇādharas that become common in South India at a later date. (The Boston Museum is in possession of one and again the *vīṇā* is missing !)[16] Yet the teaching hands (*vyākhyāmūrti*) that supplement and complement the playing hands in these later four-armed pieces carry forth this earlier association of preceptor and musician. And there is something in the lithe pose of both the Cola sculpture and its bronze descendents that confirms the logic that associated the earliest examples of Śiva in this musical role with his feminine side.

Vīrabhadra may be able on occasion to play the *vīṇā*; after all, Śiva is nothing if not the god of contradiction. But that is not the dominant note here. This Śiva is engaging rather than frightening. He contrasts in every way with his nearest neighbour in the Indian gallery, his *alter ego* from Bali, the proud and severe Bhairava. This is a harmonious Śiva, almost gentle. Give him his instrument back and you can almost hear the music begin.

15 Gopinatha Rao presents him as such, but chiefly on the basis of bronzes. *Op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 283, pp. 289-292.

16 See Pal, *art. cit.*, p. 161, fig. 9.

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"CONCEPT AND ROLE OF TOLERANCE IN INDIAN CULTURE"

By

H. M. JOSHI*

Analysis of word tolerance :

To tolerate is to bear with patience the existence of others. It is to put up with the views and actions of other people. It consists in permitting other persons to express their views freely and implement them into activity.

Toleration is essentially a state of mind for there is the positive action of non-interference in activity of other persons.

Toleration is not in that sense possible among birds and animals.

Toleration can be between one person and another person, as between husband and wife, mother and child, among friends.

It may be between one individual and group, group and another group, community and community, race and race, class and class.

There can be toleration in religion-oriented culture; at the same time it is possible for toleration to prevail in entirely secular culture. This shows that religion and culture are quite distinct.

Introduction :

Spirituality is the hall-mark of Indian culture. Since the beginning of Vedas the seers and *Ṛṣis* had innovated the experiential and reflective method of gaining knowledge and establishment of way of life. Nature bestowed upon them the qualities of inward development requisite for free thinking and righteous life. Saṁhitā of which *Ṛk* is the foremost abounds in propounding the concept of infinity, self and vastness of universe. At the same time the method and cultivation of inner states of being were exercised and explored by them which opened the potentialities of intrinsic nature. It is the inward exploration and aspiration to materialise the human power and ability reflecting the endeavour of seers which has been largely responsible for the foundation and unbroken continuity of Indian culture.

Spirituality has played vital role in directing and diffusing the goals of Indian culture. There have been often testing and crucial periods of Indian culture and there were times when her vital force was almost exhausted and the foreign rule had almost threatened the survival. It was at such critical period that her spirituality has bridged the gap and saved the perennial values cherished in Indian culture.

* Reader in Philosophy, Faculty of Arts, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda-390 002.

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Indian culture has recognized spirituality not only as the supreme occupation of Man but also as his all-integrating occupation. Similarly the entire spectrum of Indian culture—its religion, ethics, philosophy, literature, art, architecture, dance, music and even its polity and social and economic organization—all these have been constantly influenced and moulded by the inspiring force of a multi-sided spirituality.

Experiential approach :

Experiential approach of Indian culture to several problems of Man and human life has contributed immensely towards maintaining free, liberal, open-minded and critical outlook of Indian culture. Its distinctive character is that the beliefs which form parts of its literature, religion, ethics and metaphysics are developed intrinsically and not imposed upon people either within India or outside, but they have issued and sought to be verified in experience. It affirms that deep within the heart and high above mind there is accessible to our consciousness a realm of truths, powers and ecstacies that we can, by, systematic cultivation which is called *Yoga*, realize in direct experience, can even hold permanently, and express in varying degrees through our instruments of mind, life and body. This affirmation has conditioned the entire develoment of religion in India and has introduced in the body of religion the recognition that direct experience of the spirit is far superior to dogma, belief and ritual practise, and that dogmatic religion can and must ultimately be surpassed by experiential spirituality.

Tolerance in Religious Scriptures :

The history of Indian spirituality and religion shows a remarkable spirit of research of an increasing subtlety, plasticity, sounding of depths, extension of seeking. There have been systems of specialization, conflicting claims and counter-claims but the supervening tendency has been to continue, assimilate, harmonise and synthesize diverse tendencies. In the past, there had been at least four great stages of synthesis represented by the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, the *Geetā* and the *Tantra*. And in modern times, we are passing through the fifth stage represented by a new synthesis which is in the making.

Vedas are held to be revelatory in the sense that they are not produced by human beings but they are heard in the depth of heart and abound in experience. Vedas are called *Apauruṣeya*. They are said to be Śruti. The sources of *Dharma* are (i) Śruti or the Vedas (ii) the tradition and practise of those that know it, Smṛti (iii) the conduct of virtuous man and (iv) individual conscience.[1] Although there are sects and faiths which do not accept the authority of Vedas, they do not oppose the conduct of virtuous men. For them there are other sources of *Dharma*

1 *Vedo'khilo dharmamūlam smṛtīle ca tadvidām, ācāraścaiva sādhūnām ātmanaḥ tuṣṭir eva ca.* (*Manu*, II, 6).

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besides Vedas. For men of some sects included in Hinduism, the Vedas are not the source of authority. Medhatithi says, "Thus all the alien sects, like the Bhojakas, Panchrātrikas, Nirgranthas, Anarthavādas, Pāśupatas and others hold that the great men and the particular deities" who are the authors of their creeds, directly perceived the truths underlying them, and think that *Dharma* did not originate from the Vedas".[2] Besides this, Lord Mahavir and Lord Buddha did not accept the authority of Vedas. Although they and their religious followers did not accept the authority of Vedas yet they followed the ideals and values laid down in Vedas and Upaniṣads. Vedic and nonvedic traditions have wholeheartedly cherished common aims and ideals of thought and life.

Two Paths ; Knowledge and Action :

It is true that in ancient period of Indian culture there arose vehement opposition against dominant attitude of Brahmanism. Both Gautam Buddha and Mahavir were Kṣatriyas. They attempted to lay down action-oriented path leading to liberation by the path of purification of mind and action. The popular meaning of Vedas was that they were sacrificial, evocative of natural Gods and Goddesses and ritualistic. As a result there were two paths, knowledge-way and action-way prevalent in ancient period. The protagonist of one path protested against the other. Buddha propounded 'middle-way' (*Madhyam-mārga*) in order to find out conciliation between two extremes of knowledge and action. It can be adequately shown that the protest of Buddha was against the then prevalent sacrificial and ritualistic doctrine of liberation.

After the age of Saṃhitās there were several interpretations of its import in terms of psychological, naturalistic, conceptual and linguistic nature. There were physical, naturalistic and spiritual meanings of words occurring in Saṁhitā. In *Nirukta* of Yāska the linguistic and etymological import of Rigvedic *Mantras* is studied and discussed. Such a controversy is reflected later on in Gṛhya Sūtras. In times of Chandragupta Maurya and Great Ashoka people and kings followed the ethical path advocated by Gautam Buddha for he attempted to synthesize the supposed hostility between knowledge-path of Upaniṣads and ritualistic (action) path of Vedic Brāhmaṇas.

Epics and idea of righteousness :

Vedas and Upaniṣads have been the sources of synthesis of thought and activity. However, Upaniṣads could not satisfy the inquiring spirit of masses. Therefore the epics of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* brought about the dissemination of moral ideas among masses of India. Next to Upaniṣads these two epics have a considerable influence over the masses. The ethical and social ideas and ideals of Indian culture have been to a large extent found in these two epics.

2 *Na vedamūlam api dharmam abhimanyate* (On *Manu*. II. 6).

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We may put forward certain central moral ideas as elaborated in the epics. They are (i) Reverence for Seers, parents and elderly persons (ii) Penance (iii) keeping of promise (iv) Suffering for others' good and welfare (v) Observance of rules even in hostility and war (vi) loyalty (vii) Rectitude and Righteousness.

Of course, in both the *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as the *Mahābhārata* war has been resorted to. But it is accepted in order to eradicate falsehood and evil. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* it was a war between truth, purity, love on the one hand and meanness, violence and atrocity on the other hand. In the *Mahābhārata* war occurred between the element of sincerity, honesty on the one hand and unscrupulousness and lust on the other hand. This amply shows that Indian culture since ancient times has stood for the victory of truth against falsehood.

Tolerance in Bhagvadgeetā :

After Upaniṣads, *Bhagvadgeetā* which is a part of the *Mahābhārata* is advocating for synthesis of knowledge, action, devotion and other paths of development and liberation. *Geetā* mentions all the previously existing scriptures and their ideas. It advocates toleration among ideas as well as colour and castes. "All the castes have been created by me according to quality and action." (IV.13). Analysis of human temperament, mind, desires, passions and impulses is attempted in thorough-going manner. There are persons in whom the elements of virtue, light, intelligence and reflection is predominant. Secondly, there are persons who are mainly active, extrovert and socially co-operative. Thirdly, there is the quality of inertia, inactivity and slothness is dominant. With its comprehensive approach and interpretation of Man and world, *Geetā* has appealed to classes and masses and has been instrumental in inculcating moral, social and cultural ideas into day-to-day life.

In the times of Gṛhya Sūtras and Smṛtis there came about the division of people on the basis of those who can read Vedas and those who cannot read Vedas, performance of sacrifice, rituals, chanting of hymns and *mantras* of Vedas, thread ceremony and *Varṇa* (colour). There were contradictory prescriptions and injunctions in Gṛhya Sūtras. However, in the period of Smṛti the virtue of tolerance in *Dharma Sūtras* was advocated. The *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* mentions the following moral virtues, absence of anger, non-excitement in loss and gain, tolerance of those who do harm to oneself, absence of greed, contentment, not being given to delusion, absence of hypocrisy, hostility, and truthfulness, charitableness, non-covetousnest, gentleness and others". These should be observed by men in all stages of life ; these qualities qualify one for salvation" (I.8.23).

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Common Characteristics of Indian Philosophy :

Conflicting prescriptions and injunctions in Gṛhya Sūtras have given rise to discrimination among people and class-differences in Hindu Society. As regards morning prayer, worship of family deity, gods, there are conflicting injunctions and these injunctions are followed by different groups of Brahmins. As a result there are varieties of groups of hymns chanted for morning and evening prayers among Brahmins. Along with Gṛhya Sūtras the Darśana-Sūtras were formulated around fifth century before Christ. Inspite of different standpoints in *Darśanas* certain common characteristics are evident in them with the result that they become inherent portion of Indian culture as well as heritage of common people. These characteristics are (i) Investigation of means of knowledge (ii) nature of self (iii) nature of liberation (iv) Moral endeavour (v) interpretation of external world (vi) Mind, vital urges and consciousness (vii) Metaphysical seeking. Thus it seems that entire philosophical quest in India is compact and harmonious inspite of there being ten to twelve *darśanas*. Each philosophical system such as *Nyāya*, *Sāṁkhya*, *Poorva Mīmāṁsā*, *Uttara Mīmāṁsā*, *Pratyabhijñā darśana* has got specific approach towards the institution of knowledge, self, reality and goal of life. It is said in *Mahimna Stotra* :

त्रयी सांख्यं योगः पशुपतिमतं वैष्णवमिति
प्रभिन्ने प्रस्थाने परमिदमदः पथ्यमिति च ।
रुचीनां वैचित्र्यात् ऋजु कुटिलनानापथजुषां
नृणामेको गम्यस्त्वमसि पयसामर्णव इव ॥

Different approaches in philosophy are results of selection of fields, attitudes towards world and life. They are interpretations of abiding and varied experiences of self and the world.

Nature of experience :

There are mainly three central experiences in terms of which all these varieties can be readily understood. The first is that of the individual in a state of complete detachment from all movement, dynamism and activity. In this state the individuul finds himself in an utter passivity and inactivity, but also of a complete luminosity and discrimination between himself as an eternal witness (*SĀKṢHIN*), free from the sense of ego and the activities of Nature in the universe. This experience is the basis of the *Sāṁkhya* philosophy.

The second experience is that of the eternal and infinite Reality, above space and time in which all that we call individuality and universality are completely silenced and sublated, and the experiencing consciousness discovers itself to be that Reality (*TAT SAT*), one without the second (*EKAM EVA ADVITÌYAM*), entirely silent and immobile, the pure being, so ineffable, that

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even to describe it as being is to violate its sheer transcendence. This experience has given rise to the philosophy of *Advaita* (Non-Dualism).

The third experience is the one in which the individual and cosmos are found to be free expression of the Supreme Reality (*Purusottama*) which although above space and time, determine space and time and all activities through various intermediary expressions of itself. This experience and some variations of it form the basis of various theistic philosophies in India. These theistic philosophies are those of qualified Monism (*Visishtadvaita*), *Dwaita* philosophy, *Suddhādvaita* philosophy, dualistic-non-dualistic philosophy (*Dwaitādwaita*) and integral Monism (*Poornādvaita*). Each of these experiences, when permanently established gives liberation (*Mokṣa*), and it is this which has in India been regarded as a high consummation of Man's destiny upon earth. But more importantly, the ancient ideal was to achieve an integrality of all these experiences to combine experience of identity with effective action, to be liberated from ego and yet at the same time to be a free living centre (*Jivan-Mukta*) of luminous action that would help the progressive unity of mankind (*Loka-saṁgraha*).

Spirit of Synthesis :

This integral ideal was to be realized in its integrality not only by a few exceptional individuals but also by increasing number of people, groups, collectivities, even on massive scale, through a long and conscious preparation and training. The early Vedic was the first stage; Purano-Tantric was the second stage (the date of Vedic age is controversial, but according to conservative hypothesis, its origins are dated 2500 B.C., the Tantric-Purano age can be regarded to have extended from 600 B.C. to 800 A.D.). In the former an attempt was made to approach the mass-mind through the physical mind of man and make it familiar with the Godhead in the universe through the symbol of the sacrificial-fire (*Yajña*). In the latter, deeper approaches of man's inner mind and life to the Divine in the universe were attempted through the development of great philosophies, many-sided epic literature (the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*), systems of *Purāṇas* and Tantras and even through Art and Science.

An enlarged secular turn was given and this was balanced by deepening the intensities of psycho-religious experience. New tendencies and mystic forms and disciplines attempted to seize not only the soul and the intellect, but the emotions, the senses, the vital and the aesthetic nature of man and turn them into stuff of cultural and spiritual life. A further development through the third stage was attempted, but it was arrested as it synchronised with a period of general exhaustion and in the eighteenth century which can be regarded as the period of decadence obscurity, the work that had begun seemed almost lost.

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Advent of Hindu-Muslim Unity :

The aim of this third stage was to approach not only the inner life and mind of man, but to approach his whole physical, mental and psychical living, his totality of being and activity, and to turn it into a generalised spiritual and cultural life. Philosophers and saints such as Basava, Nimbārk, Madhva, Rāmānanda, Kabir, Mahāprabhu Chaitanya, Vallabhāchārya, Guru Nānak, Meerā, Raidās, Tulsidās and Dādu Dayāl made remarkable social and religious change by their philosophical reflection, devotional fervour and daring spirit of reconciliation among different castes and communities. There was notable attempt to combine *Vedānta* and Islam and establish lasting communal harmony. In particular, the work of Guru Nānak (1469-1538) and of the subsequent Sikh Khālasā movement was astonishingly original and novel. The speciality of this movement was an intense outburst and fresh creativity, not a revivalism, but based upon a deep assimilation of the past, new effort and formulation.

Ranade, the great nationalist reformer of Maharashtra referring to this movement writes, " It gave a literature of considerable value in the vernacular language of the country. It modified the strictness of caste exclusiveness. It raised " Shudra " classes to the position of spiritual power and social importance almost equal to that of the Brahmins. It gave sanctity to the family relation and raised the status of woman. It made the nation more human and at the same time more prone to hold together by mutual toleration. It subordinated the importance of rites and ceremonies and of pilgrimages and fasts, and of learning and contemplation to the higher excellence of worship by means of love and faith. It checked the excesses of polytheism. It tended in all these ways to raise the nation generally to a higher level of capacity both of thought and action. " [3]

Rāmānanda was the first great name after Rāmānuja in North India in the line of saints till the seventeenth century. Hindus of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had been stunned by the violence of the Muslim impact—the destruction of their temples and their degradation in political and social spheres of life. They felt depressed and dejected. Rāmānanda set up a system which could instil faith and self-confidence and which could cure the social malaise of chronic frustration. The path of devotion was thrown open to all. Rāmānanda began the process of consolidation, but there were certain limits which even he could not cross. The study of the Vedas remained the monopoly of the higher castes even in his system. The path of knowledge was still a forbidden land for the *Śūdras*, Thus, in the scheme of social organisation, he had retained the castes, although not so in the spiritual discipline. Inspite of all these, his reforms were

3 Ojha P. N., *Aspects of Medieval Indian Society and Culture*, B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1978, p. 8.

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revolutionary in character, for the lower castes attained a position of equality with the higher castes, at least in the realm of spiritual matters. He was a great patron and promotor of inter-communal harmony. The teachings of Rāmānanda gave rise chiefly to two schools of thought, one, conservative and the other, radical. The most illustrious and typical representative of the first school was the celebrated saint—poet Tulsidās, and of the second, Kabir. The radical school tried to effect reconciliation between the different religious sects and especially between Hinduism and Islam.

During this period, there was a tremendous churning of the spirit of India and a great attempt was made to explore all aspects of human being and to develop them in such a way that they could all open to the spiritual light and force. This attempt not only had an individual aspect but also a collective aspect and this was a remarkable attempt which could have revolutionised the collective life of India. But this was interrupted on account of several factors.

Lack of Vital Force :

Among these factors was the fact of the exhaustion of the vital force as a respect of a long march of effort from the earliest times of Indian history. This coincided with the political instability and the coming of the settlers from the west, the French, the Dutch and the British. Finally, the political instability led to the establishment of the British supremacy in India. The Indian spirit began to re-assert itself from the middle of the 19th century which marks the beginning of what has come to be called the Indian Renaissance.

The period beginning from 1800 A.D. when the British established supremacy in India is generally called the modern period of Indian history, It was at the beginning of this period that there arose a galaxy of great personalities like Raja Rammohan Roy, Keshav Chandra Sen and Dayananda Sarasvati who filled India with a new breath and sowed the seeds not only of a new spiritual awakening but also of social and political awakening.

Toleration in Modern Period :

Just as in times of Akbar there were noteworthy attempts of conciliation between Hindu and Muslim Religions and Dine Ilahi was its ripe fruit in like manner Brahma Samaj and Prarthana Samaj were the results of Christian religious characteristics of love, surrendering, fellow-worship, faith and suffering with the Hindu religious characters of knowledge, worship, urge for action, purity, monistic belief and harmony. Gradual recognition of self-identity and a sense of challenge gave Hinduism a revitalising force of wideness and catholicity. The infiltration of Christianity through the agency of Britishers effected new exploration in the potency of Indian spirit to absorb fresh values and retention of abiding character. The european beliefs and values were weaved into elastic fabric

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of Indian culture and it extended its texture and made sharp by receiving the essence of theosophy.

The great Indian fighters of India's freedom who struggled against the British were not only men and women of high spiritual attainments, but also of immense social and political dynamism. The new nationalist spirit was at once spiritual and social in character, and the great *mantra* of Indian nationalism (*Bande Mātaram*) symbolised a new vibration of spiritual and political force which generated waves of nationalist movement and led India to her freedom on 15th August 1947 A.D.

It is, however, important to note that the meaning and significance of the vast effort of Indian spirituality and culture began to be understood in the context of what is happening since the tern of the century in the inward life of India. Personalities such as Sri Aurobindo, Swami Vivekananda, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Mahatma Gandhi endeavoured for the upliftment and resurgence of Indian spirit. New wave of exchange of ideologies and cultural transmission spread between India and Western countries. They have broken a new ground for the fulfilment not only of the Indian spirit but of the deepest aspirations of mankind.

It is this new movement of India initiated by Sri Aurobindo, Swami Vivekanand and other philosophers of contemporary India which makes India so relevant to the modern world. It is that which makes the story of Indian cnltuie so significant and meaningful. It is that which invites the attention of the world. In the light of universal, catholic and broad-based outlook that in 1950 the constitutionalists of India declared India a secular state. Present free and independent India is committed to secularism and consequently towards freedom of belief, faith and tolerance of religious worship and views. Now in order to appreciate the secular nature of Indian society and polity it would be proper to analyse certain characters of Indian Mind and Dharma (धर्म).

Three Bases of Tolerance :

Firstly, since the beginning of Indian culture various races which were originally called *Varṇas* (colours) have been absorbed and they have been integrated into Aryan fold; Shak, Huns, Greeks, Scythes, Assyrians and Dravids have been assimilated into the ever-broadening structure of Aryan culture. Secondly, Hindu religion in particular and Indian culture in general have been essentially dynamic, experimental, reflective and valuational with the result that they have permitted and encouraged multifaceted ways of devotion, worship and approaches to the understanding of world and reality. *Syādvāda* of Jainism, *catuṣkoti* of Nāgārjuna, doctrine of *Māyā* and ineffability of Śaṁkarācārya, integralism of Sri Aurobindo may be cited as illustrations of conciliating means for comprehensive nature of world and reality. As in the case of conduct and

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behaviour *Madhyama Mārg* laid down balanced path, in like manner *syādvāda* shows the conditional and probable character of judgement. Logical judgement has relative situation and contingent quality of happening. From logical point of view negation has got its affirmative basis and counterpart. Relativity of negation and affirmation has provided for toleration of views and practices in social, political and religious life.

Thirdly the concet of *Dharma* has been intensive and all-embracing. According to the Vedic seers there is at the summit of consciousness a power of action which arranges forces and activities of the universe by an automatic harmony of relationships, movements and results. The right law of this automatic harmony is the *ṚTA*. The *Ṛta* itself is founded in the truth of the Reality and of the universe (*Satyam*) and its field of action is the totality which is the infinite vast (*Bṛhat*). It is by the discovery of *Ṛta* that according to the Vedic seers the human consciousness is delivered from the crookedness of ignorant action. *Ṛta* is indeed the right law of action but it issues from the vast consciousness of the truth and it is thus superior to any human standards of action or any laws of the individual and collective life. It is this idea of *Ṛta* which lay behind the governing ideas that determined the organization of the varied aspects of life, Fundamentally, it gave rise to the predominant tendency to place the law of the truth as sole law to which the individual and the collectivity are called upon to give their ultimate allegiance. Thus there came about in India an organisation of human life in which each individual and collectivity was given the freedom to develop in accordance with the law of the truth; even the state law had to be in conformity with the law of truth. The state authorities could legislate but the legislation itself had to be in accordance with and in subservience to the law of the truth.

Codification of Dharma :

It is from complex scheme and formulation that the later idea of *Dharma* grew and developed. As the original idea of *Ṛta* could never be rigidly fixed, even so, there could not be in India any one fixed formulation of *Dharma*. In a certain sense, *Dharma* has always remained some indefinite thing. Thus although *Dharma* has been upheld as the highest non-legislative law which even the highest state authorities had to obey, there is nowhere in India one fixed and uniform formulation of *Dharma*. Indeed, there have been several formulations and in many respects these formulations themselves have been in conflict with each other, and there are attempts even to reconcile this conflict resulting in some new flexible and synthetic formulation of law. From this complexity of the situation, there has arisen in India some universal and general idea of *Dharma* and certain recognized variations and formulations of *Dharma*. The great Smṛtis of Yājñavalkya and Manu are attempts to codify this *Dharma*,

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and although these two are themselves in conflict with each other in many respects, they have provided a general background of a commom formulation of the basic idea of *Dharma* (At one stage Manu says regarding woman that *yatra nāryastu pūjyante ramante tatra devatāḥ*, wherever women are honoured, there reside Gods, at another place he says to the effect that *na strī svātantryam arhati* woman does not deserve liberty.) But this codification itself was never regarded as absolute, and although in later times they came to be applied rigidly, there were always supervening claims of the unformulated *Dharma*. In fact, we find in most catholic teachings such as those of the *Geetā* an injunction to transcend all '*Dharmas*' and to surrender to the highest truth and to the Supreme Divine (XVIII-66).

Check Upon Vital Life :

Moreover, *Dharma* is a law or a guideline to prevent human beings from falling into crooked ways of the ordinary and unbridled demands of impulses, desires, ambitions and egoisms. In this way it is the source of sublime values of truth, beauty, goodness, wisdom and righteousness. This is why Indian culture enjoined upon individuals to restraint the life of desire for enjoyment and for personal profit under the control of the uplifting law of *Dharma*. Thus we find in India the prevalent idea that *Kāma* and *Artha*, passion and personal gain are only the first elementary motives of life for the orninary man and that they are not to be ends in themselves. *Kāma* and *Artha* are to be superseded by *Dharma*. The individual is asked to grow out of passions and impulses and from his selfish and egoistic interests to reach the life of ideal law of *Dharma*.

Emphasis of Swadharma :

But even *Dharma* is not according to Indian culture the highest stage or motive of human life. For *Dharma* itself is not something fixed or rigid. And even if the initial stages of the pursuit of *Dharma* are guided by some fixed and acceptable code of conduct, action and behaviour, the individual has to discover, *Swadharma*, one's own specific law of the right rhythm of self-development. For Indian culture recognizes that every individual has his 'own' specific *Dharma*, the peculiar and individual law of the rhythm of his growth appropriate to his own individual functions and special combinations of his qualities and capacities. Thus the life of *Dharma* has to be a life of inner search, a life of self-knowledge. The individual is asked and allowed by the Indian culture to follow his *Swadharma*. In this way the individual discovers the real truth of himself. This is the inner meaning of liberation or *Mokṣa* which is placed before the individual as the supreme aim of life.

Present Secular State :

It must be admitted that the concept of *Dharma* could not remain for long a dynamic ideal. It broke down much earlier in the field of mass and collective

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life, and even-though it still continues to be respected and even practised to some extent by individuals in their individual life, it has betrayed its weeknesses and self-contradictions since last several centuries. And under the impact of alien cultures, particularly since the British introduced and imposed upon India the commercial scheme of values there has arisen tremendous confusion.

'Secular State' has two distinct forms : (i) Religious Secularism and (ii) Secularised Secularism. With regard to first possible form prevalent in India it is appearing to be suitable and under democratic way of Government and living it is functioning. Since second century A.D. Christianity has been a living and dynamic religion of Indian sectional community. The propagation of the beliefs, values and sacraments of Christianity is a concrete act of tolerance in Indian culture. Similarly Islam, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism are religions of India and its millions of followers are peacefully practising their beliefs without any hindrance and obstruction. However, Hinduism which is the major religion of India and Hinduism has been tolerating other religions since last so many centuries, has been facing problems of communal harmony from within. It is a vexing question as to how long Hinduism will continue to have reservations and special protection for Backward Classes and tribes. Constitutional guarantee has already been surpassed and to perpetuate it would be to create fresh discrimination from Hindufold itself.

So-called "untouchables" or "Harijans" and backward class were a result of the misinterpretation of the scripture and its essential spirit and indeed the social reformers opposed the codification of *Dharma* in Smṛti. Now when in religious secularism different faiths are encouraged and tolerated the 'backward' too are required to be adequately encouraged. But the question remains whether it is the government, which is committed to equality and justice, should help a particular section as against other section of society.

Second possibility is about 'Secularised Secularism'. This is not found in India as here religion and religious consciousness are not denied their realities. In Soviet Russia. Poland, Bulgaria and other communistic countries religion is regarded as ill-conceived movement of humanity as if it is 'an opium of masses'. In India religion is playing its positive role in moulding the lives of people at large.

present state of secularism is a result of Western approach to the problem of religious toleration and democratic way of living. The precise nature and form of secularism in Indian cultural situation is in the making and it remains to be seen how and what shape it assumes in times to come.

Certain Relevant Notes : (*Indian Social Tradition*) :

Dr. Pande G. C.—"Just as each individual has his *Swadharma* which he must follow, so has each group its *Swadharma* which must be respected."

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" The idea that human society, national or universal, instead of being of a uniform group or a direct organisation of atomic individuals in really " a system of systems ", a " social area " (analogous to what is now sometimes called a " language area " of non-interfering co-operation which enables the helpful co-existence of diverse communities and groups where quite different types of material and cultural values may be pursued, represents one of the most significant insights of the Indian tradition. It is in the light of this principle that the complicated and tolerant unity of Indian social life was sought to be built through aeons of historical vicissitudes and conflicts. It enabled the preservation of diverse tribal and religious cultures, the absorption of numerous foreign invaders and races, and the toleration of radically different religions. "

" The dominant ideal of the Indian social tradition has been conceptualized as ' *Dharma* ' which is essentially the direction sought to be imposed upon the lower by the higher self of man. "

" The group is free to follow any tradition of cultural values without seeking to interfere with other groups through extending material co-operation to them. "

" *Varṇa*, originally meant ' colour ' but in course of time it assumed the meaning of caste or class ", " The result was a composite Hindu society; and the term ' *Varṇa* ' assumed a new meaning—no longer the colour of the skin, but the colour of one's character " " the classes as social groups probably started as professional guilds; but soon they became hereditary in character. "

Jawaharlal Nehru on ' Tolerance ' (SPEECHES AND WRITINGS)

" The philosophy of force can no longer pay and our progress must be based on peaceful co-operation and tolerance of each other. "

" It is perhaps not very easy to find a good word in Hindi for ' Secular ', some people think that it means something opposed to religion. That obviously is not correct. What it means is that it is a state which honours all faiths equally and gives them equal opportunities, that as a state, it does not allow itself to be attached to one faith or religion which then becomes the state religion. "

" Our constitution lays down that we are a secular state, but it must be admitted that this is not wholly reflected in mass living and thinking. In a country like England, the state is under the constitution, allied to one particular religion; the church of England which is a sect of Christianity. Nevertheless, the state and the people there largely function in a secular way. Society, therefore, in England is more advanced in this respect than in India, even though our constitution may be, in this matter, more advanced. "

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" We have not only to live up to the ideals proclaimed in our constitution, but make them a part of our thinking and living and then build up a really integrated nation. That, I repeat, does not mean absence of religion, but putting religion on a different plane from that of normal political and social life. Any other approach in India would mean the breaking up of India. "

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A NEW LOOK AT GURU NĀNAK

By

FRANK WHALING*

Guru Nānak was born in 1469. Ten years ago it was his quincentenary, and it is good to reconsider his life and work at this stage.

A fruitful way of studying Guru Nānak is to ask the question, What is new and unique in him ? In comparison with the other reformers of the late medieval period, in what way, if any, is the achievement of Guru Nānak more complete and more lasting and more radical ? The parallel question involves asking which elements in Guru Nānak's work and teaching were derived from others. From whom were they derived ? Who were the spiritual predecessors of Guru Nānak ? I hope to show in this paper that both the new and the old are important in Guru Nānak.

Before beginning the presentation, it is necessary to state that there are two main difficulties to be faced in any study of Guru Nānak. They relate to the source material. Guru Nānak's own writings are available and they do not present the difficulty[1]. They are recognised as being authentic, and they include : '*Japjī* ; parts of the '*Āsā Kī Wār*', '*Rahiras*' and '*Sohilā*' ; and many of his hymns which are in the Sikh scripture[2]. However, the same is not true in regard to Guru Nānak's life. This has come down to us through the medium of the '*Janam Sākhīs*'[3]. These are accepted by the Sikhs themselves as being, in the main, authentic. But modern scholarship basing itself on western historical critical apparatus tends to dismiss the major part of the *Janam Sākhīs*. The best recent example of this is found in Mcleod's book, '*Guru Nānak and the Sikh Religion*'[4]. He states, ' The problem as far as the *Janam-Sākhīs* are concerned is to determine how much of their material can be accepted as historical. A very substantial proportion of it is obviously legend and much of what cannot

* Religious Studies, New College University of Edinburg, Mound Place, Edinburgh-EH-1, 2 LX, Scotland.

1 McLeod W. H., '*Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion*' Clarendon, Oxford, 1968, p. 5. He grants the authenticity of Nanak's works but not of the *Janamsākhīs*.

2 There are 974 hymns by Guru Nānak in the '*Ādi Granth*'.

3 Sources of Nānak's life are :—*Purātan Janamsākhī*, the oldest but at least 80 years after the death of Nānak; *Miharbān Janamsākhī* (1581-1640); *Bhāī Bālā Janamsākhī*, containing obvious accretion and exaggeration; *Bhāī Manī Singh Janamsākhī* which is later. '*Dabistān-il-Mazāhib*' by Muhsin Fānī is the first non-Sikh source. He died in 1670. The *vārs* of Bhāī Gurdās (1581-1639) are relevant. Lives of the Gurus '*Mahimā Prakāś*' and '*Nānak Prakāś*' came out in 1741 and 1776.

4 Oxford Clarendon Press, 1968, London Ph.D. 1965.

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be summarily dismissed in this way is open to grave suspicion on other grounds. In a number of cases, however, there is an evident possibility that some historical fact may lie beneath a superstructure of legend '[5]. However, the *Janam Sākhis* are basically all we have to open up for us the life of Guru Nānak. If we are to determine what is the old and the new in Guru N nak, we must make some sort of value-judgement concerning the *Janam Sākhīs*. Because the approach we take to them will determine some of the answers that we give to the topic before us[6].

It is equally true that we must make a critical value-judgement concerning the secondary sources as well. For the secondary sources are disparate in nature. Hindu sources are surprisingly few in number. Where they exist they tend to approach Guru Nānak with a Hindu bias. An example of this is to be found in G. C. Narang's '*Transformation of Sikhism*' in which he states, 'it does not mean that Sikhism is Islamic to any extent whatsoever. It was on the other hand the embodiment of Hindu reaction against Islam '[7]. The extent of Muslim influence upon Guru Nānak must remain an open question until the paucity of Muslim Sūfi sources for this period is rectified, and until Muslim scholars take a serious interest in Guru Nānak[8].

The Sikh sources are more numerous[9]. They give us two Guru Nānaks :- the Guru Nānak who was a historical person, and the 'formless' Nānak of the Sikh ethos [0]. They also take the *Janam Sākhīs* as in the main representing true facts of the historical life of Guru Nānak.

Western interest in Guru Nānak has been surprisingly small. In the first edition of the book edited by Charles J. Adams, '*A Reader's Guide to the Great Religions*', there was no chapter on Sikhism, and Guru Nānak did not even merit a mention in the index as an adjunct of Hinduism ! The great work by Macauliffe is still the standard work on the Sikhs although dating back to 1909 [1]. Mcleod's recent book takes the standpoint of western historiography over against the Sikh traditional view and therefore concentrates in a Bultmannian fashion upon Guru Nānak's teaching.

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5 McLeod W. H., '*Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion*', pp. 8-9.

6 If we reject the *Janamsākhīs* we can deduce little or nothing about what was new or old in Nānak's life and practical influence.

7 Narang G. C., '*Transformation of Sikhism*', p. 241. Tribune Press, Lahore, 1912.

8 This is inhibited partly because of recent political events.

9 Useful works are :—Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, '*A Short History of the Sikhs*', Vol. I, Orient Longmans Bombay, 1950; Khushwant Singh, '*A History of the Sikhs*' Vol. I, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, 1964; Harbans Singh, 'Guru Nanak', Patiala, 1969.

10 Archer J. C., '*The Sikhs*', Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, 1946, Chapter 4 :— 'Nānak the Factual and the Formless'.

11 Macauliffe, M. A., '*The Sikh Religion : Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors*' in 6 volumes, Oxford, 1909, Volume 1 on Guru Nānak.

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I intend in this paper to make use, in a critical way, of all the sources available including the *Janam Sākhīs* and Sikh studies. In order to get a rounded view of Guru Nānak it is essential to take into full account the views of those who look upon him as their founder. It is essential to see him as a living person as well as the vehicle of certain teachings—a person who lived in history and a person who is taken to have lived on in others after his historical death.

What then are the new elements that we see in the life and teaching of Guru Nānak? In the first place he was a man of such personality that there was within him that which was capable of founding a new religion, and indeed a new 'state'. As Bhāī Gurdās, a contemporary of the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Gurus put it, 'Nānak founded a pure religion, and struck his coin in the world'[12]. There is the tradition in *Janam Sākhīs* that Guru Nānak travelled outside India in order to pass on his message. All the *Janam Sākhīs* apart from Miharbān's state that he travelled to Ceylon; there is a fairly strong local tradition concerning Guru Nānak's visit to Tibet[13]; there is the *Purātan Janam Sākhī* tradition that he went to Mecca and Medina and was the first non-Muslim so to do[14]; there is the categorical testimony of Bhāī Gurdās, recently disputed by McLeod, that he went to Baghdad[15]; evidence of supposed visits to other countries we can dismiss as being too impossible. Even if all this evidence were to be disputed, there is still the interesting point as to why the Sikh tradition should 'invent' visits to far-off lands when this would be a somewhat unnatural thing for an Indian then to do.

The Janam Sākhīs also state that Guru Nānak established Sangats in various places and that he put them under the charge of Mañjī-holders[16]. This is further evidence, along with his preaching in non-Hindu countries, that Guru Nānaka was not a mere reformer but also the founder of a new religious tradition. In this there is some similarity to Wesley in comparison with the other reformers of the Eighteenth Century. Whitefield and the others merely preached; Wesley set up societies, and his work lasted and in the end became a separate organisation. In one respect, Guru Nānaka went even further than Wesley. He took care to test and appoint a successor before he died. His successor Lahinā was not one of his sons, but the disciple he felt most worthy and able to follow him. To quote Bhāī Gurdās again, 'In his lifetime Nānaka installed Lahinā and conferred on him the regalia of Gurushiip. Guru Nānaka turned himself into Angad by blending his light with him... Angad had the same mark, the same

12 Bhāī Gurdās, 'Vār' i.45.

13 See Editor's note in *Nānak Prakāś*, Vol. II, pp. 690-93.

14 See *Purātan Janamsākhī*, pp. 114-119.

15 McLeod W. H., '*Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*', pp. 125-132.

16 Several references throughout the whole corpus of literature.

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umbrella over his head and was seated on the same true throne of Guru Nānaka. The seal from Guru Nānaka's hand passed on to Guru Angad's and thus was his sovereignty proclaimed; .. Lahinā obtained the gift from Nānaka and to the house of Amar Dās it must descend'[17]. Nānaka was not the first Indian reformer to make arrangements for successors to himself, but he was the first to do this in such a non-dynastic and organised way that a new tradition would be a possible outcome.

The second new thing that we see in the life of Guru Nānaka is the way in which his influence is passed on. He did not regard himself as divine, and as we will see later he did not believe in incarnations as such. Other Hindu reformers have in this respect been given higher honours than he. As Das Gupta puts it in relation to Caitanya, 'In Bengal and outside Bengal there was a deep religious belief, cherished fervently by a large number of adherents that Srī Caitanya.. was the most perfect incarnation of God'[18]. Rāmānuja himself had been considered to be a partial incarnation of the great primordial snake upon which the Lord rests and a reincarnation of Lakṣmaṇa the brother of Rāma. The '*Sukh Nidān*' of the Kabīr Panthīs puts these words into the mouth of Kabīr, 'I am Sat Purush; I am peace and comfort; I am Sukrit; I am Sat Kabīr; I am the Creator of this world'[19]. Other examples could be given of this tendency to give divine honours to Hindu reformers. Gorakhanāth is another case in point. The Sikhs have never felt this temptation in regard to Guru Nānak. Although some of them have called him Nānakdeva, they are basically as clear as he was that he is not in fact divine. The thing that the Sikhs do stress is 'the pervasive influence of Guru Nānaka among his followers as mediated through the other Gurus'[20]. Sattā and Balwand, the minstrels of Guru Angad portray Guru Nānaka's posthumous influence in this way :- 'Guru Nānaka invested Lahinā with the mark of Gurushiip...He, i.e., Guru Angad, had the same light, the same method; it is the Master who had changed his body'[21]. The Muslim Fānī wrote later in his '*Dabistān-i-Mozāhib*', 'The Sikhs say that when Nānaka left his body, he absorbed himself in Guru Angad who was his most devoted disciple and that Guru Angad is Nānaka himself. After that, at the time of his death, Guru Angad entered into the body of Amar Dās. He in the same manner occupied a place in the body of Rām Dās, and Rām Dās in the same way got united with Arjun ... They say that whoever does not acknowledge Guru Arjun to be the very self of Bāba Nānak becomes a non-believer'[22]. This unique con-

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17 Bhāī Gurdās, 'Vār' i.45.
18 Das Gupta S. B., '*Aspects of Indian Religious Thought*', p. 191.
19 See Westcott G. H., '*Kabir and the Kabir Panthis*', Cawnpore, 1907, p. 144.
20 Harbans Singh, '*Guru Nanak*', p. 260.
21 *Guru Granth* 'Rōmkalī', p. 966 (Elsewhere *Guru Granth* taken for granted).
22 Nanak Panthis in '*Punjab Past and Present*', April 1967, p. 55.

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cept of the special influence wielded by Guru Nānak through the other Gurus on the whole Sikh people is a very interesting one. There is a hint of the idea of Nānak being reincarnated in the other Gurus. At the very least there is a sense of the ever-present reality and indwelling presence of the Guru in the other Gurus in a similar way to that in which Christians talk of the presence of Christ being with them. At any rate it gave cohesion and unity to the Sikh movement. The Gurus wrote their verses in the name of Nānaka I, Nānaka II, and so on, and this gave a unity of pattern and tone to the Sikh development.

It may be argued that the presence of the peaceful and tolerant Nānak was not too obvious when the Sixth Guru responded to the martyrdom of Guru Arjun by sanctioning the use of arms, and when Guru Gobind Singh in the '*Zafarnama*' sanctioned force as a God-willed means ; –' *Cu kar az hama hilate dar guzast halal ast burdan ba samsir dast*', 'When all avenues have been explored, all means tried, it is rightful to draw the sword out of the scabbard and wield it with your hand'[23]. It may equally be argued that the presence of Nānak was not too obvious when Guru Gobind Singh instituted the Khālsā as a casteless fraternity which was also a fighting band, nor when he gave to Nānak's "community without outward marks" the five emblems of Kes, Kangha, Kara, Kach and Kirpan[24]. Suffice it to say that the Sikhs do not view it in this way. As Harbans Singh enunciates it, 'The struggle in which Guru Gobind Singh became involved was regarded as God's way of fulfilling Guru Nānak's mission'[25]. And when Guru Gobind Singh ended the succession of human Gurus and set up the Granth Sāhib as the Guru after him, Guru Nānak's presence continued on in the Word as embodied in scripture. The Sikhs' sense of the continuing presence of Guru Nānak with them, even though he is not regarded as divine, was certainly a new element in religious life in the India of the sixteenth century.

A third new element in Guru Nānak's works was his emphasis upon the whole of life and the whole of society. Cunningham summed this up many years ago, 'In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Hindu mind was no longer stagnant or retrogressive; it had been leavened with Muhammadanism, and changed and quickened for new development. Rāmānand and Gorakh had preached religious equality, and Chattan had repeated that faith levelled caste. Kabīr had denounced images, and appealed to the people in their own tongue, and Vallabh had taught that effectual devotion was compatible with the ordinary duties of the world. But these good and able men appear to have been so impressed with the nothingness of this life, that they deemed the amelioration of man's social condition to be unworthy of thought. They aimed chiefly at emancipation

23 Quoted Khushwant Singh '*History of the Sikhs*', vol. I, p. 78 footnote.
24 Hair and beard unshorn, comb in hair, steel bracelet, breeches, sabre.
25 Harbans Singh '*Guru Nanak*', p. 264.

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from priestcraft, or from the grossness of idolatry and polytheism '[26]. It was reserved for Nānak to perceive the true principles of reform, and to lay those broad foundations which enabled his successor Gobind to fire the minds of his countrymen with a new nationality, and to give practical effect to the doctrine that the lowest is equal with the highest, in race as in creed, in political rights as in religious hopes'. This is an important point. There were other reformers at work in Nānak's India who were equally as impressive and effective as him in the religious sphere. But he was more consistent and insistent than they in applying what was deduced in the religious sphere into the whole of life. For in fact what Guru Nānak was basically doing was to claim that *mokṣa* could no longer be separated from *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*; the four were integrally bound up together. Nor could equality in the religious sense be divorced from equality in the more secular sense. There is a sense of optimism and affirmation in Guru Nānak that is not so evident in his contemporaries. McLeod writes of 'the primacy of religious concerns in the thoguht of Guru Nānak'[27]. It is true that Nānak's social, political and economic concern can be vastly over-emphasised by reading back present-day concerns into a different world. But underneath the religious stress they are there, and we see part of the truth of this in the history of the Sikhs who took him as their guide.

Nānak affirmed the reality of the world as the creation of God, and that the created world had a positive rather than a negative value. 'Real are Thy realms and real Thy universes, Real are Thy worlds and real the created forms. Real are thine acts and real Thy purposes. Real is Thy fiat and real Thy court, Real is Thy order and real Thy word. Real is Thy mercy and real Thy mark of grace. Millions call upon Thee as True Reality. Real is the energy Thou hast created. Real is Thy name and real Thy praise. Real is Thy Nature, Eternal Sovereign!'[28]. There is in Nānak, as well as a sense of the reality of the world, a sense of realism about the world. There is a hint of Amos. He is not afraid to censure kings, the state, religious leaders, formalism, superstition and moral decay. Yet this is somehow not so relentless and lacking in humour as the same sort of criticism emanating from the hand of Kabīr. Harbans Singh claims that, 'Nowhere else in contemporary literature are the issues in the medieval Indian situation comprehended with such clarity or presented in tones of greater urgency'[29]. An example of this rather strong statement is to be found in his famous lament over Saidpur[30] when it had been sacked by Bābur, 'Lord,

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26 Cunningham J. D., '*A History of the Sikhs*', John Murray, London, 1849, p. 34.

27 McLeod W. H., '*Guru Nānak and the Sikh Religion*', p. 162.

28 *Āsā*, p. 463.

29 Harbans Singh '*Guru Nanak*', p. 239.

30 McLeod W. H., p. 132-8 claims that this was written after 1526, and did not refer to the sack of 1520.

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Though took Khurāsān under Thy wing, but yielded India to Bābur's wrath. Yet Thou takest no blame ; And sendest the Mughal as the messenger of death. When there was such suffering, such killing, such shrieking in pain, Didst not Thou, O God, feel pity ? Creator, Thou art the same for all ! If one tyrant attacketh another, it troubleth not the heart. But when a lion falleth upon a herd of cows, the master will be questioned for not protecting it. The miserable Lodhis, the rulers of India, have lost their priceless jewel. No one will remember them after they are gone. But mysterious are Thy ways, Thou alone maketh and Thou alone severeth ! '[31]. Whether this relates to the sack of Saidpur in 1520 or not it shows a deeper awareness of the intermingling of religious, social and political matters than is to be found elsewhere.

The theme of religious and social equality had already been touched upon by others. There are hints of it already in the Ālvāra[32]. The Tengalai school of *Śrī Vaiṣṇava*s in contrast to the Vedagalais shaped their doctrines to make them apply to the *Śūdra*s also[33]. Rāmānanda's thirteen disciples traditionally included a woman named Padmāvatī, a Muslim weaver, a leather worker, a Rājput, a Jāṭ, and a barber. He also allowed inter-dining among *Vaiṣṇava* devotees of proved standing[34]. The Muslim Sufīs had also allowed inter-dining at their Khānaqāhs which in some ways prefigure Nānaka's langars. The Gorakhnāth *Yogī*s may have been influenced in this as in other matters by the Buddhists who long before had protested against the tyranny of caste. Briggs says concerning the *Yogī*s, ' *Yogī*s are casteless. Within the order there are no caste restrictions upon eating, drinking and smoking ..Theoretical equality does not, however, extend to women, for *Yogī*s do not allow their women folk to eat with them, although women of all panths eat together '[35]. The Marāṭhā saint Nāmdev was a tailor, and his ' *avatāra* ' *Tukārām* who lived after Guru Nānak was a *Śūdra* shopkeeper. They worshipped Vithobā at Pandharpur. However, although women of many castes became associated as saints in the worship of this god, MacNicol writes about Nāmdev and Tukārām, ' Their success in overcoming the prejudices of caste was ... very partial and temporary '[36]. Kabīr also refused to acknowledge caste distinctions, as also did Caitanya. And so there were many precedents for Nānak's espousal of religious and social equality.

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31 *Rāg Āsā*, p. 360.

32 Although this had been in South India.

33 Bhandarkar R. G., ' *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems* ', Strasbourg, 1913, p. 57.

34 Bhandarkar R. G., ' *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems* ', p. 66.

35 Briggs G. W., ' *Gorakhanāth and the Kānphata Yogīs* ', Calcutta, 1938, p. 27.

36 MacNichol N., ' *Indian Theism* ', London, 1915, p. 125.

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The difference was that Nānak's equality was more integral and lasting than that of the others mentioned. The influence of Islam is especially important here. It had been said of the Chishti Sufīs that 'the doors of their monasteries (Khānaqāhs) were thrown open for all, the low and the high, the Hindu and the Muslims, the saints and the dervishes'[37]. It is fairly safe to say that Guru Nānak must have been influenced by the Sufīs in this respect in his setting up of the langar. The Guru ka Langar that he instituted emphasised in the common meal true fellowship and equality. He stressed that God had created all men. After his vision at the river, his words on reappearing again with the people were 'There is no Hindu and there is no Musalman'[38]. 'False', he said, 'is caste, and false the titled fame'[39]. Elsewhere he stated, 'Neither caste nor position will be recognised hereafter. They alone will be pronounced good whose merit is reckoned worthy of honour'[40]. Equally with his condemnation of caste he also condemned the inferior treatment given to women. 'Of woman are we born, of woman conceived, to woman engaged, to woman married. Woman we befriend, and by woman is the race continued. When woman dies, woman is sought for. It is by woman that order is maintained. Then why call her evil from whom great men born? From woman is woman born, and without woman none should exist'[41]. The effect of his work here is to be seen in the more advanced comparative standing enjoyed by Sikh women today.

As well as protesting against *varṇa*, Nānak also protested against exaggerated emphasis upon *āśrama*. It is an important point, which we can only touch upon here, to consider how far the various *bhakti* groups were affected by ascetic tendencies either by allowing or encouraging *Brahmacārin*s or by allowing or encouraging the third or fourth *āśrama*s. This is especially important in regard to the *Vaiṣṇava* sects. Śaivism has been relatively stronger in its stress on asceticism as evidenced by the *Pāśupata*s and *Kāpālika*s[42], Saṅkarācārya (himself a *naiṣṭhika brahmacārī*), the *Dasanāmi Saṁnyāsis*[43], the *Nāga Saṁnyāsis*[44], and the Kānphata *Yogīs*[45]. However, the main philosophical stress was either Vedāntic or Tāntric rather than bhaktic. The *Vaiṣṇava* sects laid their stress upon *bhakti*, but they found it hard in theory or in practice to become completely Householder orientated. Rāmānuja had become an ascetic after marriage, but

37 Nabi M. N., '*Development of Muslim Religious Thought in India* 1200-1450', p. 14.

38 Nānak is still remembered in the Punjāb as the King of the Holy Men '*Bāba Nānak sah fakīr Hindu ka guru', musalman ka pīr*'—Guru of the Hindus and Pīr of the Muslims.

39 *Śrī*, p. 83.

40 *Āsā*, p. 469.

41 *Āsā*, p. 473.

42 See Ghurye G. S., '*Indian Sadhus*', p. 47.

43 See Ghurye, chapters 4 and 5 *op.cit.*

44 See Ghurye, chapter 6 *op.cit.*

45 See Ghurye, chapter 7 *op.cit.*

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the heads of his religious centres have remained, on the whole, free from asceticism. Rāmānuja is also 'said to have founded the *Vaiṣṇava* school of asceticism known as *Tridaṇḍī*'[46]. Nimbārka was a life-long ascetic and he founded the ascetic body named '*Sanaka sampradāya*'. For Rāmānuja the Godhead was Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī; for Nimbārka it was Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā; for Madhva it was again Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī. Madhva also was a lifelong ascetic, and his centres in Kannada and Tulu country are led by ascetic abbots. Jñāneśvara of Mahārāṣtra, another life-long ascetic focussed his adoration upon Viṭṭhala and Rukminī. Rāmānanda was an innovator as far as caste was concerned, but he was also the founder of the largest ascetic body among the *Vaiṣṇava*s called the *Rāmānandi*s who borrow their general philosophy from the *Śrī Vaiṣṇava*s. Kabīr likewise was acknowledged by the Kabīr Panthīs as their founder. In a similar fashion Caitanya, who was born in 1485 and ordained an ascetic in 1510, is also followed by a large ascetic following. A significant exception to the above tendency for *Vaiṣṇava* leaders to surprisingly produce ascetic followers is found in Vallabha. As Ghurye puts it, 'Vallabhācārya was born in A.D. 1479 and died in A.D. 1531. He not only gave a '*Bhāṣya*' but turned an ascetic sect almost completely into one of householders. He himself was a married man with a large progeny'[47]. His successors and the Gurus of his sect have equally been married. Vallabha's sect has (perhaps too unjustly) received a very bad press. Bhandarkar comments in a low key that, 'The spirit of this system, therefore, seems to be sportive enjoyments and it cannot but be expected to influence the ordinary life of its followers'[48]. However, in his day Vallabha was an equal reformer in this respect to Guru Nānak, perhaps more so in that he 'took over the monasteries'. Nānak merely never set them up.

Guru Nānak was an innovator in the comprehensive fashion of his rejection of the *āśrama* system while maintaining the spirit of religous seriousness that lay behind it. During his travelling days with Mardānā he wore a composite garb which attracted much attention and made the symbolic point that he appealed to all religions and belonged to none specifically. He did not have the red and white forehead marks of some of the *Śri Sampradāya*s, the Tengalais, the Vadagalais or the *Rāmānandi*s; nor the red and red of the Vadagalais and the *Śri Vallabha*s; nor the white and white of the *Śrī Sampradāya*s, the Kabīr Panthīs and the Caitanyites; nor the black and white of the *Śrī Mādhva*s and the *Sanaka Sampradāya*s; nor the variants on yellow, grey, red and white of the Śaivites; nor the red, white and grey of the *Śāktas*[49]. Instead, 'He wore a motley dress, consisting of a long ochre-coloured gown, with a white waist band, a conical cap

46 Ghurye, p. 54 *op.cit.*
47 Ghurye, p. 156 *op.cit.*
48 Bhandarkar R. G., op.cit., p. 82.
49 Personally observed in Vārānasi.

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on his head, a garland of bones round his neck, a pair of shoes of different designs on his feet, and a saffron mark on his forehead '[50]. In other words he tried to combine all the sect garments in one. Although he was already married[51], and had two children Sirī Chand and Lakhmīdās, he went out upon his missionary journeys in effect as an ascetic. However, at the end of his life, Guru Nānak settled down again with his family at Kartārpur. It became his home, the centre of his work, and the headquarters of his Householder religion. He resumed ordinary dress, and stressed that true religious discipline ripened only in a life lived in the world. Unlike Vallabha he did travel round away from his family; unlike Luther he was married before his experience of being apart. In the Langar the people ate together. In it and outside it too, they served in a practical way. *Sewā*, the ideal of love and service became the keynote of the movement. 'In the midst of wife and children one would gain emancipation '[52], he said. Pure conduct as well was a keynote. 'You may wash and bathe and run the mark of your caste across your forehead', he said, 'Yet purity will not be attained without pure conduct '[53]. Again he said, 'Religion lies not in empty words. He who regards all men as equal is religious. Religion lies not in wandering outside to tombs and places of cremation, or in postures of contemplation. Religion lies not in roaming abroad, or in bathing at places of pilgrimage. To live uncontaminated amid worldly temptations is to find the secret of religion '[54]. Guru Nānak also countenanced the eating of meat, and this is a major point in that apart from some of the *Śākta* sects, this eating of venison can almost be said to be a touchstone of being a Hindu. The fact that Nānak ate and lived with Mardānā on their journeys is important, and his teaching on interesting is summed np in the story of Malik Bhāgo. Nānak was invited by this wealthy man to eat with him, but Nānak preferred to stay with the humble Lālo. The *Bhāī Bâlā Janam Sākhī* describes what happened when he did come to the rich man's house and ate his food along with the poor man's food. 'Guru Nānak took Lālo's coarse bread in his right hand and Malik Bhāgo's delicacies in the left. As he pressed both, milk dropped from Lālo's coarse bread and blood from Malik Bhāgo's delicacies '[55].

And so at Katārpur Guru Nānak set up a pattern of his Householder religion. People greeted one another by saying 'Sat Karṭār', and a pattern of devotion, instruction, and labour was set up. *Varna* and *āśrama* had lost their sting. In fact there are two ascetic sects which owe some vague allegiance to

50 *Purātan Janamsākhī*, p. 43.

51 *Janamsākhīs* differ : *Purātan* at 12, *Miharbān* at 15 or 16, *Bhāī Mān Singh* at 14.

52 *Dhanāsarī*, p. 661.

53 *Rām Kalī*, p. 903.

54 *Suhī*, p. 730.

55 *Bhāī Bālā Janamsākhī*, p. 81.

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Nānak. They are the Udāsīs and the Nirmalas who attach importance to the *Grantha Sāhib*. But they can be safely described as being outside the main stream of Sikhism, especially as Nānak 'elected' Lahinā as his successor over the head of his son who founded the Udāsīs. The Nirmalas were founded later.

Kartārpur was important in two ways to Guru Nānak. It was here that he was able to give practical expression to his beliefs in the life of a community which was more secure than his Sangats in that he himself was permanently there. It was here also that he was able to offer the teaching that was later when recorded from the oral tradition to provide the basis of the '*Ādi Grantha*'. The '*Japjī*' describes how the disciples were expected to follow Nānak in rising at the 'ambrosial hour' to meditate upon the Divine Name. There was also use of music in *Kīrtan*s. This music could be described as expressing zeal in moderation. For while it was important to Nānak, it was not accompanied by psychological phenomena of swooning and ecstacy as were the *kīrtan*s of Caitanya and his followers. Nānak was appreciative of the influence of music upon religious experience, but he was less enamoured of the benefits to be bestowed by dancing, painting, wood-carving and moulding[56]. In this respect as in others there is a distant comparison with Luther and the Protestant Reformation. In addition to devotion and instruction, there was emphasis in Kartārpur upon labour. 'He who eats what he has earned by his own labour and gives some—Nānak, he it is who knows the true way'[57]. Labour, instruction and devotion were the three prongs of the trident of Guru Nānak's holy worldliness.

And so, in the *Janam Sākhīs*, in the Teachings of Nānak, and in the tradition of his followers, we see a Guru Nānak who had a concern for the whole of life and the whole of society. This arose out of his devotion for the Lord, but it was there in a more consistent degree than in any of his contemporaries. A final illustration of this theme may be found in Nānak's attitude to death. His *Gaurī Dīpakī* which is recited nightly by devout Sikhs as part of the *Kīrtan Sohilā* expresses a deep sense of the peace that comes with death. Death for the believer brings him to final union with God. There is similarity here to the idea of the Kingdom of God as found in the New Testament as a gift which is given now but received more deeply after death. Although Nānak does not wholly dispense with the notions of *karma* and *māyā*, he places little stress on them. Reincarnation and *saṃsāra* are well in the background. Optimism and confidence are real in Nānak's whole philosophy by comparison with his contemporaries. At Lahore he even parodied a *śrāddha* ceremony[58], and in this as in his eating of meat his protest was very radical.

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56 See Teja Singh p. 1 footnote *op.cit.*

57 *Vār Sarang*, p. 1245.

58 *Purātan Janamsākhī*, p. 83.

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A fourth way in which Guru Nānak offered something new lay in his teachings themselves. Much of his teaching was derived from others and is copied in many of his contemporaries and predecessors. But some of it is new and had not been taught previously.

Guru Nānak's teaching has been parodied as inconsistent and repetitive, as lacking in any form. A typical comment is that of MacNichol, ' It is true that neither Kabīr nor Nānak is a systematic thinker. Neither troubles much with the metaphysical bases of his doctrine. An element of weakness in both is the absence of a fully considered theology. They are eclectic teachers guided rather by impulse and intuition than by reflection '[59]. There is of course a lot of truth in his statement. Guru Nānak was not a systematic theologian or philosopher. This was not his aim, nor was it the aim of Wesley who has been parodied in the same way. They were both primarily practical reformers. It can be argued in opposition to this that four of the great *Ācāryas* were also founders of *bhakti* sects. And yet the philosophical labours of Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva and Vallabha did not prevent them from practical work, nor indeed was it a great obstacle to Śaṅkara ! It would be futile to argue that on the philosophical plane Nānak is any threat to them, as it would be futile to argue that the practical effects of Nānak's work have been greater than those of Rāmānuja. However, Nānak's religion was primarily one of experience and compassion and mission. For the *Ācāryas* there was more interest in and stress on notion. They were studying the classical texts in Sanskrit for the sake primarily of the cultured; he was more interested in the poor and the humble.

It is possible to be unjust to Nānak in regard to the merit of his teaching in so far as we do compare it with that of the great *Ācāryas*. This is not the true standard of comparison, and his teaching is systematic and it does contain some new elements. It is sometimes commented nowadays that the ideas of Teilhard de Chardin are vague and unsystematic. In fact this is the opposite of the case. What is really meant by the comment is that Teilhard did not write works of systematic theology in which he spelled out his methodology step by step. He wrote various seemingly unrelated pamphlets, yet underlying them all was a strong foundation of basic ideas. It is the same with Guru Nānak. His poetry, his hymns of praise, his communicated experience seem at first sight and on first reading to be unconnected fragments. But on further reading and reflection a pattern emerges which is strong and authentic. By contrast Kabīr's mysticism is beautiful but bewildering. It lacks the pattern and consistency of Nānak.

Before we turn to Nānak's new doctrines we must first stress his influence upon language itself. He wrote in verse, and he wrote in Punjābī. What Sūr Dās, Tulsī Dās and Mīrā Bāī and others were doing for Hindī, Nānak also did

59 MacNichol '*Indian Theism*', p. 146.

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for Punjābī[60]. This was the age of the growth of regional languages. As Harbans Singh puts it, 'For the first time Punjābī was used to extensively and consistently for literary expression of this order.....From a spoken language it turned in Guru Nānak's hands into a subtle medium of self-revelation. The creative energy it acquired from him informed its subsequent growth and continues to be a vital influence to this day'[61]. His words were taken from all classes of society and from different sources and above all from the imagery of the Punjāb countryside. There was variety of mood, metre and tone. In addition to the growth of the Punjābī vernacular, Nānak was the source of the Sikh classical language'. '*The Japji*', says Archer, 'and the later, more inclusive, Granth have their own peculiar language, both in alphabet and grammar. It is the Gurmukhi, Guru-mukhi, or 'guru tongue', which Nānak spoke, although he did not invent its alphabet. This peculiar alphabet...was a deliberate invention of a later day. It became thus the Sikhs' own classic medium for the transmission of the founder's gospel, for their sacred scriptures and for their theology'[62]. Guru Nānak had a vital influence upon the linguistics of the Sikh religion and the Punjāb state. Ganda Singh has collected some of his sayings which have become part of the unconscious inheritance of a whole people : 'Sweetness and humility are the essence of all virtue'; 'Freedom of will forms our personality and leads us to action'; 'Egoism is a great disease, but its remedy also lies within itself'; 'God pervades all nature by an art that is artless' (*Vār Āsā*); 'God's eye of mercy falls on those who take care of the lowly and the lost' (*Srī Rāg*); 'Nobody is without some worth' (*Rāmkalī*); 'Truth never gets old' (*Rāmkalī*); 'Truth is higher than everything, but higher still is true living' (*Srī Rāg*); 'Death is the privilege of the brave men, provided they die in an approved cause' (*Vadhans*); 'God is Truth, Beauty and eternal Yearning' (*Japjī*); 'White things remain white, in spite of the darkness of the night' (*Vār Suhi*)[63]. Rāmānanda, Kabīr, Tulsīdās, Mirā Bāī, Tukārām and others were engaged in pouring out aphorisms in the prose-poetry of the new vernaculars. The merit of Nānak is that he not only did this, to the permanent benefit of the Punjābī Language and the Sikh people, he also had a consistent set of teachings which form a unity of content if not of matter.

What then were the new elements which illuminated the corpus of Nānak's teachings ? They are basically five :— his new insights into Śabad, Nām, Guru, Hukam, and his new scheme of householder yoga.

The word Śabad, or Word is treated with a greater depth than is found elsewhere in Bhakti writings. He also distinguishes it from the Yogi notion of a

60 See Jindal K. B., '*A History of Hindi Literature*'.
61 Harbans Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 251.
62 Archer J. C., '*The Sikhs*' p. 109.
63 Teja Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 3 footnote.

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mystic sound known in the soul. For Nānak Śabad is bound up with God's revelation. 'He has neither form, colour, nor material signs, but He is revealed through the tree Word '[64]. Through the Word man can know how to get to God, and through the Word man can know God. Everything connected with God, and everything connected with coming to know God come under the provenance of the Word. Through the Word revealed in the universe as well as in the heart God has revealed Himself in such a way that He may be known and served. Sometimes the Word is mediated through the Guru, at other times it is its own self-sufficient mediation.

Nānak also emphasises Nām, the Name of God, more than others had done. His use of it is similar in many ways to his use of Śabad ; in other ways it is different. It is one of his most common words. 'He who treasureth the Name in his heart and repeateth it on his lips ; He who dwelleth in the Name becometh free from attachment like the Lord' he writes. A *faqīr*, he writes, 'became a votary of the Name '[65]. 'Rice-cakes placed on platters made of leaf are of no avail. God's Name alone redeems '[66] he writes again. Yet once more he states, 'Let God's Name be the Śālgrām thou adorest and good deeds the basil-wreath round thy neck '[67], It is the name of God that he stresses, not the name of a God such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Allāh or any other named deity. The Name sums up everything that God is, and God's Name is Truth. As with the Word, it is to be found not merely in the heart but in the cosmos too. The treatment of this concept is deeper in Guru Nānak than in his contemporaries.

The same is true in regard to his dealing with the idea of Guru, For Nānak the Guru was not himself or any human guide. For him, his Guru was the Lord Himself, 'All is God and nothing is separate from Him. He who is the infinite, supreme God is the Guru whom Nānak has met '[68]. However, it is also 'the True Guru who brings us into union with the Lord '[69], and 'The Word is the Guru "[70]. So that the Guru is God, the revealer of God, and the Word. Again there is the close relationship between the Word, the Name and the Guru. There is also a wider description than was current elsewhere.

McLeod stresses the importance of the idea of God's Order, or Will, or Hukam in the thought of Guru Nānak. For him it is original to Nānak. This idea is very prominent at the beginning of the *Japjī*. Macauliffe's version puts it in this way, 'How shall (man) become true before God ? How shall the veil

64 *Sorathi* 6 p. 597.
65 *Purātan Janamsākhī* p. 67.
66 *Rāg Āsā* p. 358.
67 *Rāg Basant Hindol* p. 1171.
68 *Sorathi* 11 p. 599.
69 *Śrī* 17 p. 20.
70 *Siddh Gost* 44 p. 943.

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of falsehood be rendered ? By walking, O Nānak, according to the will of the Commander as preordained. By His order bodies are produced ; His order cannot be described. By His Order souls are infused into them, by His order greatness is obtained. By His order men are high or low ; by His order they obtain preordained pain or pleasure. By His order some obtain their reward ; by His order others must ever wander in transmigration. All are subject to His order; none is exempt from it. He who understandeth God's order, O Nānak, is never guilty of egoism'[71]. In other words, Hukam amounts to natural law and the divine order underlying all things. It is the underlying moral substratum behind the universe. By God's Hukam the world and human life is kept in motion, and within this orbit the Word and the Name and the Guru are made manifest. There is a constellation of ideas brought into contact and harmony here in a new way.

The fifth new insight is in relation to what we might call Householder *Yoga*. The main *bhakti* tendency had been to separate *bhakti* and *yoga* into two separate compartments. There is in Guru Nānak more than a hint of their being brought together. Uberoi sums this up, '*Mukti* is not annihilation of individuality nor is *Yoga* 'Union' of man and God in which man qua man is the loser; nor is *Yoga* technique a matter of posture, breathing, gazecentring, etc. In Sikh Mysticism the lover and the Beloved unite in Love and this is their union; the only valid technique is continuous, increased expansion of God-consciousness; and deliverance is deliverance from the fear of death and from the tyranny of the self'[72]. This is a very pertinent comment. It has often been assumed that because Guru Nānak stressed the Householder element as an integral part of religious life that therefore mysticism was foreign to him. It seems to me that this was not the case. Although Guru Nānak did not stress ascetic *Yoga* or mystical *Yoga* as such, there is an integral place accorded to *yoga* in his sense of the word within his scheme of thought and discipline. It may be that the Sūfi influence as well as the Gorakhnāth influence is here greater than has been supposed.

Within Guru Nānak's thought there are seven kinds of *Yoga*; they are based upon unity or rather unification. Three we have mentioned already. They are the unification of the Guru, the teacher, and the disciple in the divine Guru. There is the unification of the disciple and God by repeating God's Nām; there is unification through *kīrtan* music with God, the Guru and society. There is unification with God by acceptance of what happens under His Hukam. There is unification within oneself by *sahaj*, self-relaxation. And finally there are unification with Nature and with the whole of life. There is no time to dwell

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71 *Japji* 1 and 2 as in Macauliffe *op.cit.*, p. 204.

72 Uberoi M. S., '*Sikh Mysticism. The Sevenfold Yoga of Sikhism*' p. 1.

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upon this. But there is a sense in which the basic idea of applying *yoga*, as unification, to the whole of life foreshadows Śrī Aurobindo's work with Integral *Yoga*.

We have already looked at some length at four ways in which Guru Nānak brought something new to his age. He founded a new religious tradition; and if we wished to enter into political exegesis we could say that he was in a real sense also the founder of a state. He was seen by his followers as having a heavenly body even though he was not divine; and his influence was continued among his successors in a unique way. He was concerned with the whole of society and the whole of life. And in his teaching, he stressed in a new way the concepts of the Word, the Name, the Guru, Hukam and Householder integral *yoga*.

It remains for us now to examine the old in Guru Nānak. Who were the people and movements which most influenced him ? From whom did he derive his basic ideas ? Who were his most significant predecessors in regard to the development of his ideas ?

Interpretation comes in here. For if we agree that the *Janamsākhī*s contain authentic glimpses into the mysteries of the historical Nānak then it is possible that the people he met and the sects with whom he stayed could have influenced him. After all, it is generally agreed that at least twenty years of his life at a formative period were spent in travelling. The things he did during those twenty years and the people he met are not unimportant in determining who influenced him.

Three things are important if we are to decide who Nānak's spiritual predecessors are. Firstly, we must know whom he met on his *udās'is*. Secondly, we must know the situation in the Punjab during his lifetime. Thirdly, we must look at his writings. It is of course possible that he was influenced by people who are not included in any source and about whom we can have no evidence. All we can do is to deal with the evidence we have.

Firstly, we will examine the groups that he met on his journeys. His travelling companion Mardānā is important in himself, for presumably they did not enjoy merely a fellowship of silence. Mardāna was a Muslim who must have influenced Nānak as well as receiving influence from him. Nānak met Shāh Sharaf, a Sūfi of Pānīpat[73]. He met other Sūfis at different places during his travels. The Nāth *Yogi*s are mentioned often in the *Janamsākhī*s. There is a story of his meeting a Tantra at Almora, Bairāgīs at Ayodhyā, a Pandit at Banāras (as well as Kabīr which we can reasonably discount). He visited the Purī of Jaggaṅāth, Hardwār, Allahābād, Gayā, as well as foreign countries. His

73 All *Janamsākhī*s except Miharbān's.

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contact with the Sūfis and Gorakhnāth *Yogīs* are most frequent, and therefore he is most likely to have been influenced by them. His visits to all the famous pilgrim centres seem a little suspect, but there is no real reason why in twenty three years Guru Nānak should not have visited them. There is the possibility that he was influenced in some way by all these groups.

Secondly, we must examine the situation in the Punjāb. V. S. Pathak, in his '*Śaiva Cults in Northern India*' speaks of strong Śaivite influence in the region at an earlier date. 'Guhavasi', he writes, 'just before this period originated a very powerful and vigorous movement which spread to the Punjab, Varanasi ...'[74] It is interesting to speculate whether any *Śaiva Siddhānta* influence was therefore possible on Guru Nānak.

It is known that the Sūfis were fairly strong in the Punjāb at this time. Their strength was of a different order from that which had obtained two hundred years before. From 1200 to 1325 A.D. Indian Muslim religious thought had been represented by the Sūfis. They had observed the laws of the Shari'ath, but they stressed the Tariqah. The Chishti and Suhrwadi orders had known great success in preaching, and had produced famous saints. Many people had been converted, especially in the north, which was the point of entry from West Asia. Most of them belonged to the Chishti and Suhrwadi orders, and Chishti Khanaqāhs were established in many places, especially in the north, on a centralised basis. Refugees from the Mongol invasions built up a developed religious consciousness among the literate within society and among others too. From 1325 A.D. the atmosphere had changed. Sultan Mahammad bin Tughlaq began a policy of state control of the Muslim mystics. There was oppression and the central control of the Chishti order came to an end. A period of civil war, anarchy and unrest arose which was not conducive to creative thought. Religion became for many a dead formality, as Guru Nānak was later to portray so clearly. Members of many of the Chishti and Suhrwadi orders became blind followers rather than people who had an existential religion. Impostors calling themselves the lovers of God, or Freed Man arose to mislead the people. And so for a hundred years before the time of Guru Nānak, Sūfism had been in a state of decline by comparison with its earlier splendour[75]. However, there were still many Sūfi centres in the Punjāb with which Guru Nānak had contact. He is mentioned as having known many of the more important Sūfi seats which were located in Lahore, Multān, Uch, Ajodhan, Sirhind, Samana, Hansi, Pānīpat, Karnal, Delhi, Ajmer and Gulbarga[76]. The Sūfi influence upon him either by reaction, assimilation or through a secondary group was probably greater than has yet been realised.

74 Pathak V. S., '*Śaiva Cults in Northern India*' p. 57.

75 See Nabi M. N., '*Development of Muslim Religious Thought in India.....*' especially chapters 8 and 11.

76 Harbans Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

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The Punjāb was also one of the centres where the sacred places of the Nāth *Yogīs* were to be found. Briggs mentions Gorakhsetra in Peshāwar, Siālkot which was the birthplace of a famous disciple of Goraknāth called Puran Bhagat, Sultānpur, Palampur, Lahore, Amritsar, Ladwa, Bohar, Kirāna and Gorakh Tilla, 'the most famous establishment of the Kānphatas in the Panjāb, and in fact in all India'[77]. Other centres were situated at Nagar Thatha near Karāchi, Hing Lāj and Koteśwar. There was ample opportunity for Guru Nānak to become acquainted with the Nāth *Yogīs*.

For further evidence it would be necessary to search more deeply into sources in the Punjāb mentioned in '*A Bibliography of the Punjāb*' by Ganda Singh, *the Punjāb Gazeteer* and the *Bhatt diaries*.

Before we look more closely at the writings of Guru Nānak, there is one further clue to be considered in order to determine his spiritual predecessors. It is contained in the '*Ādi Granth*', itself. The saints whose poems are contained in the '*Ādi Granth*', and who are earlier than Guru Nānak in date, are among those who had some influence upon him. They are:— Farīd (twelfth century), Benī (twelfth century), Jaideva (twelfth century), Sadhnā (thirteenth century), Trilochan (born 1267), Nāmdeva, Rāmānanda, Sain (1390-1440), Pīpa (born 1425), Kabīr (1440-1518), and Ravidās (fifteenth century). These men and their works are very important in their influence upon Guru Nānak. It is said that Sheikh Farīd left '134 hymns in Punjābī which were procured by Guru Nānak from Sheikh Ibrāhim, the twelfth successor of Farīd and later preserved in the *Ādi Granth*'[78]. There are 541 hymns of Kabīr in the '*Ādi Granth*', and there is unsubstantiated tradition that he met Nānak. It is said that Nāmdev spent ten years in the Punjāb, and sixty of his hymns are included in the '*Ādi Granth*'. There is the tradition that Trilochan, Benī and Sadhnā were acquainted with Nāmdev. Ravidās, Parmānand, Pīpa, Sain, and Dhannā were all disciples of Rāmānanda. McLeod has spoken of the Sant influence upon Guru Nānak[79], and one aspect of this movement (although it was probably too inchoate to be called a movement) was their coming together in the '*Ādi Granth*' and their influence upon Nānak. In a sense, the '*Ādi Granth*' was an amalgam of representative sections of the Sant literature.

The influences upon Guru Nānak are therefore to be found among those to whom he travelled, among those who were his contemporaries in the Punjāb, and among those whose writings are included with his in the '*Ādi Granth*'.

What was the Muslim influence upon Nānak ? There is undoubtedly a Muslim influence upon him, but the problem is to determine whether it was a

77 Briggs G. W., '*Gorakhnāth and the Kānphata Yogīs*' p. 101.

78 '*Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*' p. 219.

79 McLeod W. H., *op.cit.*, pp. 151-158.

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direct influence or influence through the medium of the Sant writers. It is impossible to deal with this question even superficially without considering the wider question of Guru Nānak's whole aim. Did he intend to found a new religion ? Like Wesley, he may not have intended consciously to found something new but was there that within him which made it possible that this might be the outcome of his work ? Was he attempting to bring together the Hindus and the Muslims ? Was his work part of the reformed Hindu reaction to Muslim 'tyranny' ? Before we look at Nānak's writings we must first look at the wider problem.

Veiwpoints on this matter have varied considerably down the years. Trumpp wrote categorically, 'It is a mistake if Nānak is represented as having endeavoured to unite the Hindu and Muhammadan ideas about God. Nānak remained a thorough Hindu, according to all his views'[80]. Pincott, writing in 1885, asserted that 'the religion of Nānak was really intended as a compromise between Hinduism and Muhammadanism, if it may not even be spoken of as the religion of a Muhammadan sect'[81]. Macauliffe exalts the originality and newness of Nānak, 'a man who soared to the loftiest heights of divine emotionalism, and exalted his mental vision to an ethical ideal beyond the conception of Hindu or Muhammadan'[82]. MacNichol describes Nānak as a reformer, but 'that echoes of Hindu and Muhammadan teaching are to be found throughout his writings with little serious attempt to fuse them into a consistent system'[83]. Most Sikh writers state that Guru Nānak took up the best features of both *Bhakti* and Sūfism but added his own contribution. Harbans Singh claims, 'He brought to these general tendencies the force and urgency of a deeply inspired and forward-looking faith. He added elements which were characteristically his own and which empowered current trends with wholly new possibilities of fulfilment'[84]. McLeod states, 'Other factors suggest that Sūfism was at most a marginal influence, encouraging certain developments but in no case providing the actual source of a significant element'[85]. Where does the truth lie amid all these opinions ?

The evidence of the *Janamsākhī*s shows that Guru Nānak was trying to supply a bridge between the Muslim and Hindu communities. They give due weight to the Muslim contacts made by Nānak, and it seems that his earliest followers believed that Nānak had seen beyond the opposition between the two traditions. *Miharbān Janamsākhī* describes his experience at a Muslim school

80 Trumpp, '*Translation of the Ādi Granth*' London, 1877, p. ci.
81 Pincott F., '*Sikhism in its Relation to Muhammedanism*' p. 5.
82 Macauliffe M. A., *op.cit.*, p. liv.
83 MacNichol N., *op.cit.*, p. 149.
84 Harbans Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 61.
85 McLeod W. H., *op.cit.*, p. 158.

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in Talwandī[86]. He refused to wear the Hindu sacred thread. The Muslim mullah was called in to cure him. When he went on his journeys the Muslim Mardānā went with him. He was put in charge of the granaries of Nawab Daulat Khān Lodī in Sultanpur. After his time of deep spiritual experience by the banks of the river Bein, his first words were, 'There is no Hindu and there is no Musalman'[87]. One of his first encounters on his travels was with Shaikh Sajjan whom he reclaimed form brigandry. All the *Janamsākhīs* except Miharbān's refer to his encounter with the Sūfī Shāh Sharaf at Pānīpat. He then met a Sūfī Shaikh named Bajid. Then at Hardwār he was asked whether he was a Hindu or a Muslim, and he replied by offering water to distant Lahore presumably to indicate he was neither. At Rajauli he met a *faqīr* called Kalhan Shāh. At Pākpattan there was his famous meeting with Shaikh Ibrāhim who was known as Farīd II from Farīd whose verses are in the *Ādi Granth*. Later he cured a *faqīr*, and influenced the Muslim village of Kiri Pathāna. At Ajmer he conversed with the Chishti leaders, and at Uch he conversed with the Sūfi Shaikh who lived there. At Multān he again spoke to Muslim *faqīrs*. Later he met Shaikh Ibrāhim again. Later still there is the tradition of his journey to Mecca, Medina and Baghdad, all disputed by many, but not yet fully disproved. According to the *Purātan Janamsākhī* Guru Nānak and Mardānā were captured at Saidpur and met Babur himself. Finally there is the story of Nānak's instructions as his end was near. He asked for flowers to be put to his right and left after his death so that the flowers which remained fresh would allow either the Hindus or Muslims to dispose of his body. In the event the flowers of both remained fresh. It seems to me that all this evidence shows at the very least that, whether these events happened or not. Nānak's followers interpreted his intentions and message to be one of transcending both Hindu and Muslim. In one sense he was appealing to Hindus and Muslims to be true Hindus and true Muslims. In another sense he was appealing above them both to a greater unity than either perceived. There is a hint of universality which accepts the Hindu and Muslim traditions yet transcends them both. As he puts it, 'To live uncontaminated amid worldly temptations is to find the secret of religion. Religion lies not in empty words. He who regards all men as equal is religious'[88]. And so it is necessary to suppose that there was a real Sūfi and Muslim influence upon Guru Nānak. Narang in describing Sikhism as a Hindu reaction to Islam, and McLeod in underestimating the *Janamsākhīs* have underplayed this Muslim influence. If Nānak's followers 'invented' these Muslim incidents, we are left with the problem why should they invent them? And if they did invent why should

86 *Miharbān Janamsākhī*, p. 16.

87 See *Purātan Janamsākhī*, pp. 16-18.

88 *Suhi*, p. 730.

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they invent MUSLIM incidents ? And why should they give this particular viewpoint, if it were not true, at a time when relations with the Muslims were not improving ? Surely they would have portrayed Nānak as being more hostile to Islam if they themselves had supplied the events.

Let us now turn to Nānak's writings themselves. In order not to lengthen this paper unnecessarily I will deal with his teaching and point out to whom he seems to be indebted for each strand of doctrine.

Guru Nānak's first stress is upon the fact of God Himself. This is evident at the beginning of the *Japjī*, ' There is one God, Eternal Truth is His Name; Maker of all things, Fearing nothing and at enmity with nothing, Timeless is His Image ; Not begotten, being of His own Being ; By the grace of the Guru, made known to men. As he was in the beginning : The Truth so throughout the ages, he has ever been : The Truth, so even now He is the Truth immanent, so for ever and ever he shall be Truth eternal '[89]. We have here an obvious stress upon the unity of God. In the long run this must be attributed to Muslim influence. There is this continual emphasis upon one God whose name is true as the underlying theme of Nānak's teaching. On occasions he uses names for God, both Hindu and Muslim, including Hari, Rām, Gopal, Allah, Sāhib, Brahmā, Śiva, etc. This God is transcendant and unknowable, ' To sing truly of the transcendent Lord Would exhaust all vocabularies, all human powers of expression, Myriads have sung of Him in innumerable strains '[90]. This section of the *Jāpji* stresses also God's power, greatness, creation, destruction and sustaining, ' Those who believe in power, Sing of His power ; Others chant of His Gifts As His messages and emblems ; Some sing of His greatness, And His Gracious acts ; Some sing of His wisdom hard to understand ; Some sing of Him as the fashioner of the body. Destroying what he has fashioned. Others praise Him for taking away life and restoring it anew '[91]. In other words He has the powers ascribed by Hindus to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Moreover, man depends upon His grace, ' Though he were to be universally famous, Yet lacking God's grace, in God's presence such a man would be disowned '[92]. This same God is formless and eternal, ' To abide by Thy Will, O Formless One, is man's best offering. Thou who art Eternal, abiding in Thy Peace '[93]. He is also infinite and unfathomable, almost in the sense of being *nirguṇa*, ' Infinite is His Goodness, and infinite its praise ; Infinite are His Works and infinite His gifts ; where are the bounds of His seeing or His hearing ? Unfathomable is the infinity of His Mind. There are no bounds even to His creation. How many view their hearts

89 See Mūl Mantra of *Japji* 1.
90 *Japji* 3.
91 *Japji* 3.
92 *Japji* 7.
93 *Japji* 16.

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to know His limits But seeking to explore Infinity, can find no bounds '[94]. Guru Nānak continues to pile up the greatness and wonder of God in a perhaps more comprehensive form than his contemporaries. God is greatly to be praised, 'With each tongue many hundred thousands of times I would repeat the holy Name of the Lord'[95]. He is immanent and omnipresent, 'God has His seat everywhere, His treasure houses are in all places'[96]. He is also sovereign, 'What He Wills He ordains, To Him no one can an order give'[97]. God is formless (*Niṛankār*) both in thought, or through the fashioning of images.

Enough has been quoted to convey Guru Nānak's idea of God. From whom has he borrowed it, and to whom is he indebted for this concept ? In relation to the unity of God, and to idolatry, there are signs of Muslim influence. Until the time of the later *bhakti* writers who were influenced by Islam, images were accepted by Rāmānuja and the earlier saints, as having their importance in the scheme of devotion. Equally, although he does not positively repudiate the *avatāra*s or absolutely deny the deities of Hinduism, Nānak portrays a strong Muslim-like emphasis upon the unity of God.

In all these definitions and gropings to express God he shows the influence of the Sant writers. In Nāmdev there is the stress on omnipresence, 'God is with us here, God is beyond us there, In no place is God not, Nāma bows to the Omnipresent who filleth the whole earth'[98]. Kabīr is a great influence in many ways. 'Out of the Creator the creation comes', he writes, 'Everywhere in the creation the Creator is'[99]. There is no doubt that the Sant writers prepared the way for Nānak, and there is no doubt also that he went beyond them in his concept of God.

Guru Nānak also has an implicit concept of man in his hymns. However, he is more concerned with man in his relation or non-relation to God than in man for himself. The "*man*" of man, which can mean either mind or heart or soul, is in man apart from God impure, erratic and the seat of evil qualities ; yet it is also the means of knowing truth, the seat of man's love for God, and the place where God dwells —when a man comes to know God. In unregenerate man the motive power is *haumai* which means self-centredness. Outwardly, this produces evil passions such as lust, anger, covetousness, attachment to the world, and pride. The world itself is both the creation of God and a snare depending upon man's response to the world. For one who allows himself to be deluded by the *māyā* of worldly attachment for its own sake, the result is continued

94 *Japjī* 24.
95 *Japjī* 32.
96 *Japjī* 31.
97 *Japjī* 27.
98 *Rāg Āsā*, p. 488.
99 *Prabhāti*, p. 1349.

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reincarnation by the fact of his separation from God. 'This is the great sickness of the soul', writes Nānak, 'To forget even for a second, the Beloved. There is no comfort hereafter for him whose heart is empty of God '[100]. 'Quench in the water of the Lord's Name the four fires, Cruelty, anger, greed and worldly love ; Then the lotus of the inner heart shall blossom ; Then the thirst of the soul shall be quenched with nectar '[101], he writes. Again he writes, 'All advice addressed to a mind Sunk in sensuality Is so much waste of labour ; Those on whom descends the grace of God Are His favourites ; They keep the Lord ever in their hearts '[102]. In the *Śrī Rāg* he laments again, 'O Lord who pervadeth all things, In my folly I thought Thou wert far, But no deed I do can ever be out of Thy sight '[103]. Nānak also stresses that unregenerate living may mean outward religion without inward spirituality ; it may also mean inward religion without outward fruits. Both of these were important stresses in his time. For many of the Sūfis, *Yogīs* and *Bhaktas* wore outward sect marks without having inward devotion ; and others stressed inner devotion without seeing the need for this to be applied in outward action. The *Japji* is a storehouse again for this teaching. 'All goodness is Thine, O Lord, I have none', he writes. 'Though without performing good deeds None can aspire to adore Thee '[104]. And again, 'Going forth a begging, Let contentment be thine earings, Modesty thy begging bowl, Smear thy body with ashes of meditation, Let contemplation of death be thy beggar's rags ; Let thy body be chaste, virginal, clean, Let faith in God be the staff on which thou leanest ; Let brotherhood with every man on earth Be the highest aspiration of your Yogic Order '[105].

The writings of the Sant poets are a mine of illustration concerning this theme of man. It is obvious that Nānak was greatly influenced again especially by Kabīr. However, it would be possible to quote from almost all the *Ādi Granth* writers on this theme. Trilochan writes, 'Thou who hast not cleansed the dirt from thy heart, Why wearest thou the outer garb of a hermit ? And thou who in the unfolding lotus of thy heart Hast not enclosed thy Lord, Why hast thou adopted eomplete renunciation '[106] ? Dhannā comments, 'I did not know the way of Him who dwelleth in the heart; I burned with sin and fell into Death's noose. I gathered the fruits of sin, and filled my heart with them. There was no room left in it for the Supreme God '[107]. Benī castigates outward religion,

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100 *Śrī*, p. 21.
101 *Śrī*, p. 21.
102 *Śrī*, p. 24.
103 *Śrī*, p. 25.
104 *Japjī* 21.
105 *Japjī* 28
106 *Rāg Gujrī*, p. 525.
107 *Āsā*, p. 487.

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'But falsehood is in thy heart : O wicked man, not in this way wilt thou earn the greetings of the Lord Kṛṣṇa. He who has not known the Supreme God He is blind, and all his observances are vain '[108]. Parmānand writes in the same vein, 'Mortal man, what has been thy profit From hearing the Purāṇas ? Thou hast not acquired a single-minded Spirit of devotion to thy Lord ! Thou hast not given alms to the wretched. Thou hast not put away thy lust. Thou hast not put away thine anger '[109]. Nāmdev repeats the Sant strictures against hypocrisy, 'The snake sloughs its old skin But never gets rid of its poison. Thou, since thy heart is not pure, Why seemest thou to meditate, Repeating the Holy Name ?'[110]. Kabīr is closest of all to Nānak, 'In your heart is deception Though you talk of Divine Wisdom, What does it avail you, hypocrite, To be always churning water ?'[111] 'Kabīr, why, O Mullah, climbest thou up to thy minaret ? Thinkest thou that the Lord is hard of hearing ? Seek in thy heart for Him for whose sake Thou so loudly callest to prayer !'[112] There is much of the thirteenth century Sūfi reformers' emphasis here as well. As Nabi sums it up, 'Love of God and love of the world, they said, cannot go side by side. But they did not preach the ascetic and monastic life; on the contrary, they emphasised and encouraged service to humanity at large. They said that the worldly objects cannot be loved as ends in themselves but can be loved only as means to the love of God '[113]. It is difficult to imagine that this teaching was not an influence on Nānak if only through the Sants; or that in some of the Sūfīs Nānak met it was not still alive. Until we have more information about Sūfism at that period both at the local level and through writings, we cannot say exactly how much effect they did have upon Guru Nānak. We can however say that it was not negligible. There was no other source (outside of spontaneous generation) from which this ethical stress can have arisen.

We have already dealt with Nānak's teaching concerning how God communicates with man. His teaching here was in many cases new in its emphasis upon the Word, Nām, Hukam, Guru. He also stressed that God is Truth and He demands truth; also that God is a God of grace. This complex of words is often brought together in Nānak, for they are all properties of God and ways in which God reveals Himself to man. Grace is often used more in the sense of election in that illumination is given to some but seems to be kept from others, but it is also true that the illumination has to be followed up. It is not cheap grace, it is prevenient grace. There is another similarity here to the teaching of

108 *Prabhātī*, p. 1351.
109 *Sarang*, p. 1253.
110 *Āsā*, p. 485.
111 *Sorathi*, p. 656.
112 *Ślok* 184, p. 1374.
113 Nabi M. H., *op.cit.*, p. 126.

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Wesley. Certainly by God's grace the power of automatic *karma* is shattered. 'In the ambrosial hours of fragrant dawn Think upon and glorify His Name and greatness. Our own past actions Have put this garment on us, But salvation comes only through His Grace. O Nānak, this alone need we know, That God, being Truth, is the one Light of all' [114].

The same cluster of ideas is found in the Sant writings but to a lesser degree. 'The Divine Name is the only thing I really hanker for', affirms Kabīr [115]. 'O thou hypocrite one, Drink the nectar of God's Name', writes Nāmdev [116]. 'Yet noble Brahmins now bow low before me', writes Ravidās, 'since the slave, Ravidās, takes his shelter in Thy Name' [117]. There are also references to the Word, Hukam, Grace, Truth and Guru on similar but much less explicit lines.

Guru Nānak writes about the discipline required to achieve salvation. For this is not merely a question of God giving His grace, it is also a matter of effort or *yoga* on the part of the devotee. It is not just a question of God loving the disciple, the disciple also has to love God through a system of discipline which will help him to gain salvation. The goal was union with God. 'By meditating of God in my heart', writes Nānak, 'I shall become like Him. (My heart) is filled with evil, but in it there also dwell redeeming qualities. Without the True Guru these are not perceived and until they are perceived one does not meditate on the Word' [118].

As we have seen, Guru Nānak in company with the other Sant and Sūfi writers rejects caste. In fact a Lingāyat movement in South India had already attacked caste through Basava who lived about 1250 A.D. [119]. 'Though a Brahmin himself he denied the superiority of Brahmins, and tried his best to abolish the distinction of caste'. However, it was the Muslims and those whom they influenced who really achieved this effect in North India. Nānak's discipline for the spiritual life was based upon inward religion. There was no place for caste, birth, ceremonies, or ascetic practices. Impurity was not outward but inward. Images were unhelpful. Bathing in holy rivers was superfluous. Disciplined Householder worldliness is needed. Through this one could exercise outward charity and compassion through inward love, faith and humility. In this emphasis upon the inward, Nānak, and the Sants were in their own time, due to the decline in some places of the Punjābī Sūfi movement, offering a different stress to that of the *Yogīs*, the *Bhaktas* and the Sūfis. All these laid some emphasis upon the outward at the expense of the inward.

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114 *Japjī* 4.

115 *Sorathi* 656.

116 *Āsā*, p. 485.

117 *Rāg Malār*, p. 1293.

118 *Onkāru* 44 p. 936.

119 See Bhattacharya J. N., '*Hindu Castes and Sects*', p. 435.

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Nānak stressed the part of loving devotion in the discipline of *yoga*. This included surrender to God in faith, as in *Bhakti prapatti*; also fear of God Who is a God of authority as well as grace; also singing the praises of the Lord. These were all common in the different *Bhakti* schools, with the difference that devotion in *Bhakti* was usually offered to an *avatār*. This was not so in the case of most *Śiva Bhakti*, and it is tempting to conjecture whether *Śaiva Siddhānta* or Kashmir Śaivite *Bhakti* may have had some influence upon Nānak. Without local research there is no way of telling.

Devotion was offered directly to God Himself. A special way of doing this was to repeat the divine name and hold it deep in the heart. This was not mechanical repetition, but rather meditative contemplation on God Himself. This applied both to individuals and to the company of believers. Music was often used, and the *kīrtan* was popular among the devotees. This amounts to the importance of the 'church'. This emphasis upon the corporate was very important, and Nānak's *langar* for eating, *sangats* for organisation, and *kirtans* for worship were significant developments along previously half-articulated lines. 'Even if one were to possess infinite wisdom and were to dwell in love and concord with an immense number of people, without the society of the holy there would be no satisfaction, and without the Name there would be misery'[120] he writes.

There is a threefold stress in Nānak which is more developed than in the other Sant writers. There is stress on individual inward devotion; the "communion of the saints"; and service to other people. All three were important, and one without the others was lacking and incomplete. The nearest equivalent to the idea would have been the Muslim Sūfi Khānaqāhs in their heyday in the thirteenth century.

The meditation and the singing of the Name of God stressed by Guru Nānak led on to deeper spiritual experiences which were the result of the meditation and which in turn were spurs to seeking after deeper spiritual experiences. These involved dying to self-centredness and becoming more like God. They included also joy and peace. As Nānak writes in the *Onkāru*, 'He who is immersed in His love day and night knows (Him) in the three worlds and throughout all time. He becomes like Him whom he knows. He becomes wholly pure, his body is sanctified, and God dwells in his heart as his only love. Within him is the Word; he is blended in the True One'[121].

The Sant writers are important again as precursors. Nimdev writes, 'A boy gets paper, makes a kite, He flies it high in the air, And though he is still talking In a lively way with his playmates, He keeps his mind on the string! Pierced with God's Name, I keep my mind on it, As a goldsmith does on his

120 *Śrī* 17, p. 20.

121 *Onkāru* 10, p. 931.

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craft !'[122] Ravidās the cobbler writes, 'When I think of myself Thou art not there. Now it is Thou alone And my ego is swept away...As waves rise and relapse into the ocean I will mingle with Thee'[123]. Rāmānanda writes 'O gracious Guru, I am beholden unto thee Who hast cut away my doubts and my vacillations ! Rāmānanda's Lord is the all pervasive God: The Guru's word removeth countless delusions'[124].

Nānak's discipline contains a path that leads still further upwards. It is described in the five realms (khaṇḍa) of the *Japjī*. In the first realm, 'All these lives are judged by their actions. God is True and in His Court is truth dispensed ; There the elects are acceptable to Him'[125]. This is the realm of cause and effect. In the second realm, 'As in the realm of knowledge wisdom shines forth'[126], there is a deepening of understanding. 'So in the realm of Spiritual endeavour the presiding deity is Beauty'[127]. The experience is getting deeper. Fourthly, 'In the realm of Grace, spiritual power is supreme'[128], and this is the realm of fulfilment. Finally, in the realm of Truth, there is unity with God, 'Realms, worlds, universes exist there. Were anyone to number them, of his numbering there could be no end'[129]. In this indescribable realm of unity with God *karma* is done away with. It brings an experience of *Sahaj* or bliss.

At this stage of the analysis, the Sant influence becomes less marked. We are led to examine what effect the *yogī* doctrine of *Sahaj* exercised upon Guru Nānak. Briggs alludes[130] to the alleged association between Gorakhnāth and Kabīr and Nānak. In Nānak's 'Sidh-Gost' the approach changes as he addresses himself to the Siddh. By reaction or dialogue he was influenced by the Nāth *Yogi*s. Das Gupta points out the similarity between the *Sahajiya* Buddhists, the Sūfis, and poets such as Kabīr, Dadu and Nānak in their opposition to orthodoxy. There is a similarity too in their stress on the Guru, and the Nāth *Yogīs* were the successors of the Buddhists in this respect. There is similarity too in the Buddhist, Sūfi, Nāth notions of the body being the 'epitome of the universe' and the 'physical body...the abode of all truth'[131]. Nanak writes, 'For whose sake they go to the bank of a *Tirtha*. (That) exquisite jewel is even in the heart', 'the nine regions of the earth are contained in this body'[132]

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122 *Rāmkalī*, p. 972.
123 *Sorathi*, p. 657.
124 *Rāg Basant*, p. 1195.
125 *Japji*, 34.
126 *Japji* 36.
127 *Japji* 36.
128 *Japji* 37.
129 *Japji* 37.
130 Briggs G. W., *op.cit.*, p. 249.
131 Das Gupta S. B., '*Obscure Religious Cults*' Calcutta, 1946, p. 412.
132 Quoted in Das Gupta S. B., *op.cit.*, p. 416.

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Equally Nānak and Kabīr are acknowledged to have made a synthesis between the conception of reality held by the earlier *Sahajiya* school and that of the Supreme Beloved held in Sūfism. For Nanak "*Sahaja* is not only the ultimate reality, it is at the same time the Lord—the ultimate Beloved"[133]. However, the concept of *Sabaj* for both Nānak and the Nāth *Yogīs* also involves a deep spiritual experience. It is an experience which is climatic, it involves bliss, and they both use for it the term *anahad śabad*[134]. There is obviously some influence here, possibly also through Kabīr whom recent research shows to have been influenced by the Nāths. There is also some Sūfi influence in connection with the term *sahaj*.

133 Das Gupta S. B., *op.cit.*, p. 421.
134 McLeod W. H., *op.cit.*, p. 225.

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REVIEWS

Yoga aad Indian Philosophy by KAREL WERNER, Pub. by Motilal Banarasidass, New-Delhi 7, 1977, pp. 192, Price Rs. 40/-.

There is a close communication in the Indian philosophy between academic philosophers and historians of philosophy on the one hand and the general public on the other. For Indian philosophy has never been purely academic as it is in the strict western sense of the term. That is, it does maintain its close link with the existential situation of man and his interest in the place that he occupies in the universe. The author of this book rightly holds that this common concern in the Indian philosophy for the human life and its destiny is largely due to inspiration and impetus provided by Yoga. Yoga, in one form or another, plays its part in all orthodox and heterodox systems of thought, barring the Cārvāka of course.

It is in this context the author offers a reliable introduction to Indian philosophical thought and to the teachings of Yoga. He clarifies the mutual position of the two disciplines,—their relatedness, interdependence, differences and antagonisms at various times and in various schools.

The main chapters in the book deal with the existential situation of man as reflected in European and Indian thought, Indian cosmology, man and his destiny, Indian conception of salvation, origin and purpose of Yoga, schools of Yoga, Yoga in the modern world etc. Besides the book gives exhaustive bibliography and index. Although a long errata is given, this eminent publishing firm could have been more careful regarding the same at the time of publication.

The book is written in a very clear and lucid language and hence it is very helpful for the general readers. It is a reliable introductory study for all those who have interest in Indian philosophical teachings and the teachings of Yoga. Congratulations to the author and the publisher.

ANANT GANESH JAVADEKAR

Isibhāsiyāiṃ (A Jaina Text of Early Period) : edited by Dr. WALTHER SCHUBRING of the University of Hamburg; published as no. 45 of the L. D. Series by the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, 1974, Pages 4+12+171; Price Rs. 16/-.

The book under review is a Jaina Canonical work of early period published on the auspicious occasion of the celebration of the 2500th aniversary of Lord Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*.

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As early as 1927 a pamphlet of 43 pages entitled "श्रीमद्भिः प्रत्येकबुद्धैः भाषितानि ऋषिभाषितसूत्राणि" was published from Indore. It presented the text of the present work along with two *Saṅgahaṇīs* wherein the names of the *Ṛṣis*, the catch-words of their utterances and some quotations from early canonical texts were given. It drew the attention of the scholars to the present text for the first time. Thereafter Dr. Walther Schubring critically edited the Prakrit text with an Introduction and Critical Notes in German (called by him 'Commentary') which was published in 1942 in *den Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (pp. 489-576). After ten years he wrote, edited and published in the same Akademie its Sanskrit commentary in 1952 (pp. 21-52). (The Preface erroneously mentions the year 1951.) The second edition of the text was published from Hamburg in 1969 along with its German translation.

At the request of Prof. Dalsukhbhai Malvania Dr. Charlotte Krause (Subhadrā Devi) prepared an English translation of the German Introduction and Critical Notes (i.e. Commentary in two parts) with great care and, with the permission of the late Dr. Schubring, the Prakrit Text of the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* ('Sayings of the Wise') and his Sanskrit Commentary on it called *Ṛṣibhāṣita-ṭīkā* are re-printed here with this translation as no. 45 of the L. D. Series. The translation of the Text is not given in this edition. In the Preface to his second edition published in 1969 Dr. Schubring makes a mention of Dr. Krause's English translation, but it is not clear whether he means thereby that of the Text or of his German Introduction and Critical Notes.

In the German editions the Prakrit Text and the Sanskrit Commentary were printed in the Roman Script. In the present edition, however, the Text is presented in both Roman and *Devanāgarī* scripts, the *Devanāgarī* re-transliteration having been done by Dr. Nagin J. Shah, while the *Ṛṣi-bhāṣita-ṭikā* is given in *Devanāgarī* only.

The *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* i.e., *Ṛṣi-bhāṣitāni*, is a unique Jaina Canonical text inasmuch as it contains the sayings of non-Jaina Sages. It naturally vouchsafes the catholicity and nobility of the early Jaina thinkers who collected the sayings of non-Jaina *Ṛṣis* to form a Canonical work of their faith. It may also be considered to point to 'the existence of common ethical thought in early religions of various denominations'.

The Prakrit text comprises in all 45 Sections, all of which, except no. 20, are based on the principle that a more or less laconic dictum, stated to have been uttered by a *Ṛṣi*, is discussed more or less minutely and concluded with a stereotype final phrase culminating in "*tti bemi*". Section no. 20, however, lacks in *Ṛṣi*. That is why, perhaps, the *Samavāya*° speaks of only 44 *adhyayanas*. On the whole, the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* are a row of uniform Sections stung together, wherein can be distinguished the motto, the exposition separated from the latter by the

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name of the *Ṛṣi* and the conclusion. The conclusion is everywhere the same and invariably in prose, while the motto and exposition have each prose and verses or either of the two. Several irregularities can be noted in the proportion of motto and exposition.

Numerous indisputably genuine reminiscences in the language and style of the work tend to link it up with the *Uttarādhyayana* and other senior canons. Similarity in thought and diction is also observed. For instance, *vide ;*

(१) जं उलूका पसंसन्ति जं वा णिन्दन्ति वायसा ।
णिंदा वा सा पसंसा वा पप्पा ति कुरुए जगे ॥ ४.१८ (p 9)

(२) धूमहीणो य जो वण्ही छिण्णादाणं च जं अणं ।
मंताहतं बिसं जं ति धुवं तं खयमिच्छती ॥ १५.२५ (p. 33)

(३) जे पुमं कुरुते पावं ण तस्सऽप्पा धुवं पियो ।
अप्पणा हि कडं कम्मं अप्पणा चेव भुज्जती ॥ ४५.३ (p. 95)

and

( ) जातं जातं तु विरियं सम्मं जुज्जेज संजमे ।
पुप्फादीहि पुप्फाणं रक्खंतो आदिकारणं ॥ ४५.५३ (p. 101).

The *Ṛṣis* concerned are regarded as *Pratyekabuddhas*. According to the *Saṅgahaṇī* 20 of these *Ṛṣis* belong to the time of Ariṣṭanemī, 15 to that of Pārśvanātha and 10 to that of Mahāvīra, It may be noted with wonder that the same is stated by the *Isimaṇḍala* (45 f.) and that Vaddhamāṇa i.e. Mahāvīra, the *Ṛṣi* of Section 29, Maṅkhaliputta i.e. Gośāla Maskariputra who was Mahāvīra's adversary and who is here the *Ṛṣi* of Section 11 and Mahāvīra's path-maker Pāsa i.e. Pārśvanātha, the *Ṛṣi* of Section 31, have been placed here in the row of the *Ṛṣis* who are all pronounced as *Pratyeka-buddhas*.

In the Introduction (pp. 1-12) is presented a study of the text in comparison to other available versions. A brief but nice analysis is given there. We can glance there a study of the metrical material also. It is observed there that as far as the quantity is concerned, the *Daśavaikālika* stands closest to the new text and that the diversity of metres too connects it with the ancient Canonical texts such as the *Uttarādhyayana*, the *Sūtrakṛtāṅgasūtra* and the *Daśavaikālikasūtra*.

Dr. Schubring clearly states : "That our text goes back to one single author cannot be doubted; the parallelism in the structure of the individual chapters proves this no less than the throughout uniform slyle and the numerous self quotations. The stanzas in a metre other than the *Śloka* may, for a great part, come from elsewhere, one or the other among them is likewise repeated by way of quotation. Yet the author could not manage without greater borrowings either.....These foreign feathers, however, are covered by the plumage of its

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own with which our work adorns itself....a lapidary mode of speech, which must have been chosen intentionally, in order to characterize the solitary knowers not called upon to be teachers. Disciples....would indeed have stood perplexed before these splinters from the thought-workshop of the master. With us it goes similarly". He quite rightly observes : "If lucidity is sinned against here by terseness, the verses, on the other hand, nearly suffer from a surfeit of comparisons. Yet they are in most cases to the point, and if one remembers the renown enjoyed by the after all harmless allegory of the bees, *Dasav.* l, the question arises why the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, which are so much richer in this respect, have fallen into nearly complete oblivion." (p. 9)

The Prakrit Text (pp. 1-101) is followed by the editor's critical notes called 'Commentary' in two parts (pp. 102-123 & 125-130). In the Commentary the different readings also are discussed. The Introduction and the Commentary together form an excellent study, not extensive but quite to the point. At the close of the first part of his Commentary Dr. Schubring rightly remarks : "This attempt of an explanation of the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* be however concluded with the request to promote, by emendations of this attempt at an edition and interpretation, the understanding of the *unique work, which embodies a special tradition.*" (p. 122) (Italics mine.) Before closing the second part he deals with the *Ṛṣibhāṣitoddhāra*, an epitome of the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* prepared by an unknown admirer and preserved in Pāṭaṇa. It contains, on 3 leaves, almost exactly one third of the original text (147 out of 452 stanzas). Schubring has taken pains to give a concordance of the two texts on pp. 129-130.

Then follows the Sanskrit commentary written by Schubring himself and called *Ṛṣibhāṣitaṭikā* (pp. 131-159). He has clarified regarding this in his notes thus : "The 'Sayings of the Wise' have not been translated into German, but *paraphrased* in Sanskrit, because leaving aside other reasons, they thereby come closer to Indian readers, who already know the text, then they would in German shape." (p. 125.) Of course, it is more than a paraphrase. Written as it is by a modern German scholar, it is brief, lucid, to the point,

At the end are displayed "Selection from the Stock of Words of Text" (pp. 161-164), "Index of Verses in the *Ṛṣibhāṣita*" (pp. 165-171) and "Index of Proper Names" (p. 172), which undoubtedly add to the usefulness, importance and charm of the volume. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the expression of the translation is not always so happy, it is at times confusive and even faulty. For instance, 'conjucture' (p. 7, line 9), 'Triṣṭubha' (p. 8, l. 1), 'remainds' (p. 9. l. 15), 'thing worth learning are' (p. 102, l. 8), 'belong into' (p, 120, l. 2), 'preceeding' (p. 125, l. 17), 'numberous' (p. 126, l. 3); but such draw-backs fade away in the accuracy that is realized on every page !

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The world of Indologists is highly indebted to Prof. Dalsukhbhai Malvania and the L. D. Institute of Indology for bringing to light this unique ancient text.

J. P. THAKER

A History of Indian Literature, Volume I; by MAURICE WINTERNITZ; English translation by V. SRINIVASA SARMA, Pub. by M/s Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, 1981, pp. 603, Price Rs. 100/-.

M. Winternitz, an Austrian Scholar and Professor of Indology at the Uni-University of Prague wrote his *magnum opus*: "*Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*" in German. It was published by K. F. Koehler Verlag, Stutgart in 1907. After twenty years the author revised it. Mrs. Ketkar translated into English this revised work which was published under the title: "*History of Indian Literature*", by the University of Calcutta. Mrs. Ketkar was German by birth, English by education and Indian by marriage. The author himself commended her translation as very accurate and readable. The present English translation is made by V. Srinivasa Sarma who in his note states that it has been revised in the light of Mrs. Ketkar's translation.

The present volume, devoted to the oldest period of Indian literature is, according to the author, meant for those who would like to get a thorough aequaintance with it as may be possible without the knowledge of Indian languages. He has, therefore, endeavoured to present as much information as possible about the contents of the works composed during that period, through illustrative descriptions of the subject-matter, extracts and epitomes. It is not, strictly speaking, a presentation of the chronological growth of different types of literature, because so far as the pre-Buddhistic Indian literature is concerned, chronology has to be constructed mainly on the basis of presumption. Assigning approximate dates to or fixation of tentative age of the works of this ancient period, has always been a subject of investigation and controversy. The author, nevertheless, has discussed at length the problems of the age of the Vedas and other classes of literary productions. The work is rather of the nature of illustrative presentation of the contents of the books. Still, however, the author has done this in the presumed sequence of the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Vedāṅgas epics and Purāṇas and Tantras or Āgamas. The volume is divided into two sections devoted to the Vedas or the Vedic literature and the epics, Purāṇas and Āgamas respectively.

Though in comparison with the recent publication of several volumes of "A History of Indian Literature" under the general editorship of J. Gonda, updated as they are in view of the fresh researches in the field, one may deem the present volume a little antiquated, its inestimable value as recording the pioneer

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work and affording a clear insight into the various subjects treated therein, cannot be overstated. The book is, indeed, indispensible for all interested in Indology.

R. T. VYAS

Haṭhayogaratnāvalī : of Śrīnivāsabhaṭṭa Mahāyogindra, Edited by M. VENKATA REDDY, Published by Shri RAMAKRISHNA REDDY, Arthamuru, 533 351 East Godavari District, (A. P.) India. First Edition 1982, PP xii + 68 + 176, Price : Bound Rs 50/- £ 8 (U. K.) $ 10; Paper Rs 35/- £ 6 (U. K.) $ 8.

There are various books on yoga. Some are written by yogis from India and others by writers from the western countries who have emphasised mostly the applied aspects of yoga. There are very well-known books on yoga i.e. *Haṭhapradīpikā*, *Gheraṇḍasaṁhitā*, *Śivasaṁhitā*, *Haṭharatnāvalī* etc. Among these, the *Haṭhapradīpikā* of Ātmārāma and following two claim to have explained all yogic practices but they have left out many Tantric techniques.

The *Haṭharatnāvalī* throws some light on the Tantric aspects of yoga.

Shri M. Venkata Reddy has edited the *Haṭharatnāvalī* for the first time consulting four manuscripts from Tanjore, Jodhapur, Varanasi and Baroda.

As mentioned in the Foreword of this book by the Director of Vemana yoga Research Institute, the editor is the first *sādhaka* who attempted a Critical Study of Haṭhayogic philosophy by discussing the different texts like *Haṭhapradīpikā*, *Gheraṇḍasaṁhitā* and *Śivasaṁhitā*.

The text is divided into four *Upadeśa*s containing 87, 148, 99 and 63 stanzas respectively.

In the first *Upadeśa*, *Mantrayoga*, *Layayoga*, *Rājayoga* and *Haṭhayoga* are defined and various *Krīyas*—purificatory processes are also discussed.

In the Second *Upadeśa* eight *Kumbhakas* and ten *Mudrā*s are discussed.

The third *upadeśa* contains the discussion of *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana* and *prāṇayāma*; while in the fourth *upadeśa*, topics like *samādhi*, four *yogāvasthās* and *piṇḍīkaraṇa* are deat with.

In the beginning of the text, the editor discusses in his long introduction the following topics : the title of *Haṭharatnāvalī*, manuscript-material which he has consulted, problem of the nativity of Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭa, Śrīnivasa's other works, author's shortcomings, author's predecessors, contemporaries and successors, the problem of the author of *Haṭhapradīpikā*—Ātmārāma and he holds the view that Ātmārāma was also known as Svātmārāma.

There is also a detailed note on tantric practices and āyurvedic thoughts as revealed in the text.

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At the end of the book, the learned editor has supplied five appendices. Among these, the appendix No. III and No. IV contain the comparative charts of the lists of materials used in Haṭhayogic practices and names of *Nāthasiddhas* found in various treatises on yoga.

The text is well edited. The English translation and critical notes at the end of each chapter are also fair but it is unhappy to find that the editor has not used diacritical marks in the text, but he deserves our congratulations for making available such an important text on Haṭhayoga and we look forward for many more works from the editor's pen.

A. J. RAWAL

Śūdras In Ancient India by SHARMA RAM SHARAN, Published by M/S Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-110 007, Second Revised Edition 1980, PP. xix + 383, Price Rs. 90.

Prof. Dr. R. S. Sharma, the author of the book "*Śūdras In Ancient India*" deserves heartiest congratulations for putting before the world of scholars a through study of the condition of *Śūdras* in Ancient India. He has utilized the source material fairly exhaustively. A large majority of the conclusions drawn by him are generally acceptable to unbiased critic. The author has been able to trace the ups and downs in the lot of the *Śūdras* right from the Vedic times up to 600 A. D. The author has also supplied a detailed bibliography which is very useful for the study which he has undertaken. His critical acumen and insight in the problem are noteworthy. Here a bird's eye view of some of the observations throwing significant light on the study of the problem is taken.

On. P. 1 the author traces the efforts of the British to study the early social history of India from 1776 A.D. when *A code of Gentoo Laws* was published. Afterwords Sir William Jones and Colebrooke supported the idea of studying the social structure of the Hindus. In his essay "Enumeration of Indian classes" Colebrooke considered the caste system as the most remarkable institution of India.

The author quotes the conclusion arrived at by Mill in his *History of India* (1818 A.D.). According to him the views of caste subordination were carried to a more destructive height among the Hindus than any other people.

The author has not failed to make a mention on p. 2 of the opinion of Elphinstone (1841 A.D.) who depending upon the same sources stated that the condition of the *Śūdras* "was much better than that of the public slaves under some ancient republics, and, indeed, than that of the villains of the middle ages, or any other servile class with which we are acquainted."

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On P. 3 the author has rightly taken note of Hillebrandt's (1896 A.D.) view who while reviewing Hopkin's generalizations, held that the position of the *Śūdras* should be judged in comparison with the slaves of the ancient world and not in the context of developments in later times.

On Pp. 4 & 5 the author has noted down various views of different scholars, regarding the condition of the *Śūdras*.

On P. 6 the author makes clear the purpose for undertaking this work. As he states—"The present work has been undertaken not only to provide an adequate treatment of the position of the Śūdras in ancient times, but also to evaluate their modern characterizations, either based on insufficient data, or inspired by reformist or anti-reformist motives." He further observes—"The untouchables are also theoretically placed in the category of Śūdras, and hence their origin and position has also been discussed in some detail." Thus the author has acknowledged the difference between the untouchables and the *Śūdras*. Thereafter the author has enlisted a few questions pertaining to certain problems as regards the study of the position of the *Śūdras* in ancient times.

Criticizing Ambedkar's view that the Dharmaśāstras and other treatises are books written by the enemies of the *Śūdras* the author has rightly observed on P. 7 that the law-books of other ancient societies also follow the principle of class legislation as the Dharmaśāstras do.

On PP. 7 & 8 the author has clearly stated that—"At various stages the impact of settled agricultural life, flourishing trade and land grants on the social formation has been examined, and its implications for occupational and territorial mobility discussed."

Thus the author has tried to study the problem of the status of *Śūdras* up to Circa 600 in an all-encompassing manner.

On P. 10 the author has stated that the ṚgVedic society was organized neither on the basis of social division of labour nor on that of differences in wealth. But it was primarily organized on the basis of kin, tribe, and lineage. The author further continues on P. 20 as follows—"Criticizing Senart Oldenberg rightly points out that caste does not exist in the ṚgVeda, but the collection does give the impression of slowly emerging social clauses in their embryonic stage." On P. 33 the author observes—"Already in the ṚgVedic period division of labour had gone a long way. But it did not involve any social differentiation. Towards the end of the period of the Atharva Veda, however, differentiations of functions tended to develop into differentiations of rank, and tribes and clans gradually disintegrated into social classes."

On PP. 67 & 89 the author rightly observes that the tendency which sought to impose increasing disabilities on the *Śudra varṇa*, was continued by the compilers of the Gṛhyasūtras and Dharmasūtras.

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On P. 118 the author rightly remarks that there is nothing to show that the rise of the Nandas put an end to the political disabilities of the *Śūdra*s.

On P. 121 the author has correctly observed that as far as the operation of criminal laws was concerned, a passage from the *Majjhima Nikāya* shows that in cases of adultery and theft the same punishment applied to the offender, irrespective of his *varṇa*. Therefore the discriminatory laws of the Dharmasūtras in this regard need not be taken so seriously.

On P. 213 the author rightly remarks—" Even the mere existence of these provisions (directed against the *Śūdra*s offending against the *Brāhmaṇa*s) in the law-book shows that relations between the highest and the lowest *varṇa*s were very strained. We have hardly any evidence to determine whether such provisions were carried out."

The author describes in details the origin of certain mixed castes and also throws welcome light on their means of livelihood on PP. 225-227.

The author has been able to show gradual improvement in the social status of the *Śūdra*s after Mauryan period. On P. 257 the author rightly remarks—" Although in the traditional social hierarchy Śūdras were required to serve as slaves and hired labourers, the new Śūdras were either peasants or sharecroppers. Hence in Gupta and post-Gupta texts it became necessary to call them cultivators."

On p. 260 the author has stated significantly that while the aborigines benefited from the knowledge of civilised life imparted to them by brāhmaṇical society, the latter could overcome its weaknesses by the addition of new producing masses. As stated on p. 262 during circa A.D. 300-600 handicrafts were included in the normal occupations of the *Śūdra*s. In this way the *Śūdra*s could gain economic freedom and prosperity which improved their social status to a large extent. The *Śudra*s were benefited a lot by the guilds which seem to have been more or less independent units of production, practically free from state control as stated on p. 265.

As stated on p. 267 the relations between the employers and employees in the Gupta period leave the impression that, compared to the state of affairs in earlier times, such relations were humane and liberal and were expected to improve the material condition of wage earning *Śūdra* community.

On p. 276 the author has not failed to note the information supplied by Fa-hsien regarding the governing of the Middle Kingdom by the king without decapitation or other corporal punishments as also the fast that every criminal was fined according to the gravity of his offence (vide p. 278).

On p. 307 the author records that the doctrine of salvation through gifts preached in *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* (A.D. 300-500) was repeatedly emphasised in connection with the *Śūdra*s which suggested that they were in a position to make

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gifts. In the same place the author refers to the statement of the *Vajrasūci* to the effect that *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *Śūdras* are seen sacrificing and officiating at sacrifices, studying and teaching, and accepting gifts.

The author has on pp. 308-9 taken note of the part played by Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Trantricism in not recognizing *varṇa* distinctions in matters of religion.

It is correctly observed on p. 309 that the religious texts of the period shift the emphasis from the observance of rites and sacraments to that of good conduct under the influence of the reforming creeds.

Belief in the theory of *Karma* and the general belief in the imperative necessity of performing the duties of the order in which a person is born naturally prevented the masses of the people from looking for the causes of their miseries in the actions of human agencies as stated on p. 311.

There are certain statements also which can be considered debatable. Some of them are as follows.

On p. 15 the author states—" It is suggested that Kṛṣṇa was the non-Aryan dark hero of the Yādava tribe. This seems likely because later traditions speak of hostility between Indra and Kṛṣṇa. "

Similarly on p. 41 the author mentions—" In eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar the *Kṣatriya* revolt reached its climax with the preachings of Gautama Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, who claimed social primacy for the kṣatriyas and gave the next place to the Brāhmaṇas. " This statement is in sharp contrast with the spirit of equality preached by both the teachers.

In the same way on p. 74 the author mentions—" As such in the beginning the Śūdra members of the disintegrated Āryan tribes may have continued to perform the initiation rites of the *upanayana* and the *brahmacarya* in the same manner as they performed several other rituals. The Saṁhitas and Brāhmaṇas do not refer to the Śūdra's exclusion from the rite of the *Upanayana.* " It is obvious that from non-mention it is hazardous to infer anything.

However it cannot be gainsaid that the author has done justice to the subject to a large extent.

B. N. BHATT

The Kūrma-Purāṇa—Translated and Annotated by GANESH VASUDEO TAGARE, Part-I (First edition, 1981), Part-II (First edition, 1982) in the " Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology " Series as Volume 20 and Volume 21 edited by J. L. SHASTRI, published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, pp. xlvi-336 (Vol. I), 337-632 (Vol. II), Price : Not mentioned.

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The project of the "*Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology*"—Series was envisaged in 1970 by the late Lala Sunderlal Jain of M/s Motilal Banarasidass and in this Series the *Śiva-Purāṇa* (Vols. 1-4), the *Liṅga-Purāṇa* (Vols. 5-6), the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (Vols. 7-11), the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* (Vols. 12-14) and the *Nārada-Purāṇa* (Vols. 15-19) are translated and annotated and the Volumes 20 and 21 contain the translation and annotations of the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* which is one of the eighteen *Mahāpurāṇas*. The All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, has published its critical edition and its translation. Scholars like P. V. Kane and R. C. Hazra have written on it. G. K. Pai worked on it for the doctorate degree and it is published under the title "*Cultural History From the Kūrma-Purāṇa*" by Sukritindra Oriental Research Instisute, Cochin, in 1975.

It is a matter of great pleasure to welcome the present translation in English with annotations by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare.

The present translation is prefixed by the "Preface" by the editor, "Abbreviations", "Contents" and "Introduction". The "Introduction" deals with (i) the title of Kaurma, (ii) the Rank and Extent of KP(= *Kūrma-Purāṇa*), (iii) the *Kūrma* as a *Mahāpurāṇa*, (iv) the KP and the *Nārada-Purāṇa*, (v) Religious sects in the KP, (vi) Philosophy in the KP, (vii) Pāśupatisation of the KP, (viii) Dharmaśāstra in the KP and (ix) the Date of KP (pp. xix-xlvi). The translation in Part II is followed by an Index (pp. 623-632). In the footnotes to the translation *variae lectiones* are noted and the translator has given his comments thereon; *vide* for example, Part I, p. 57, fn. 2;157; fn. 1 (*); Part II, p. 345, fn. (*); 452 fn. (*) *etc.*

Incidentally, it may be noted that the Īśvara-Gītā (Uttarārdha, Chapters I-XI) is translated with text by P. E. Dumont under "*L' Īśvaragītā, Le chant de Śiva*" (Texte Extrait An Kūrma-Purāṇa, Traduit du Sanskrit, 1933) and by L. Kanno Mal in English (1924) under the title "*The Īśvara-Gītā*"—(for discussion *vide* Pai G. K., *op.cit.*, pp. 168 *ff.*).

Dr. Tagare deserves our hearty congratulations for giving a readable English translation with notes and for discussing some readings in the footnotes. The publishers also deserve our praise for the valuable services rendered to the cause of Purāṇic studies by publishing this translation, which will be useful to the students of Sanskrit and of ancient Indian history and culture and will find its place in the libraries of the universities, research institutions and colleges.

S. G. KANTAWALA

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સ્વા ધ્યા ય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

૧. વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે—દીપોત્સવી અંક, વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક અને જન્માષ્ટમી અંક.

૨. **લવાજમ :**

—ભારતમાં....રૂા. ૨૦=૦૦ પૈ. (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

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૩. આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા વૉલ્યુમ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમ 'ડાયરેક્ટર, ઓરિયેન્ટલ ઇન્સ્ટિટ્યુટ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨' એ નામે મોકલવું.

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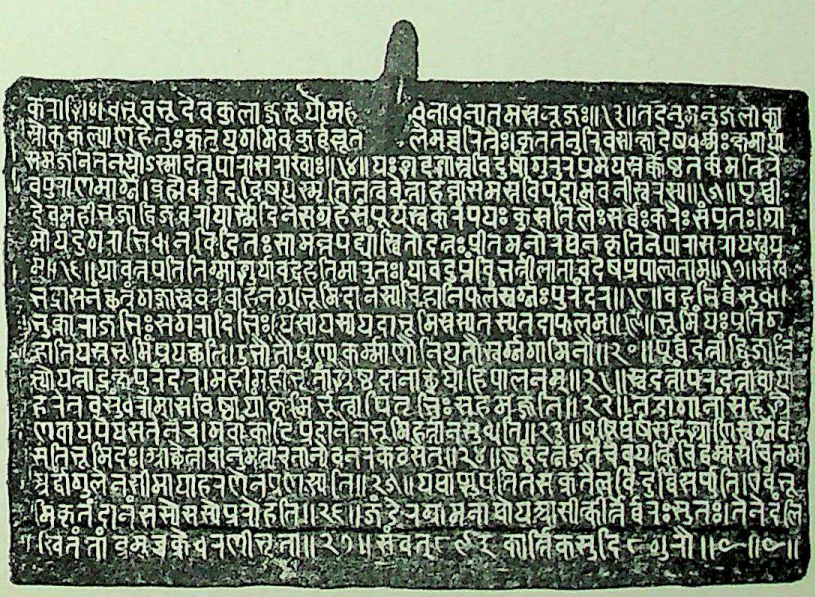

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